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Unrecorded Verse Broad sides of
Seventeenth-century New England*

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ONE of the surprising things about seventeenth-century American verse is how very much of it has remained unknown, even to the specialist. In the field of manuscripts this is understandable, for the manuscript verse is widely scattered and often well concealed amid masses of totally different material. The same is true of much of this verse which was printed later, especially in the nineteenth century, in obscure or poorly indexed periodicals, or in scarce local histories and genealogies. Indeed, no previous bibliography or history of literature has shown knowledge of more than a fifth of the early New England writers of verse, and the verse of even this fifth has remained partly unknown.¹

It is truly amazing, however, to find that a large proportion of the verse printed in the seventeenth century has never been recorded bibliographically. Even in the special field of New England verse broad sides, to which I shall confine myself in this

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Society on 22 June 1944.

¹ Cf. the author's *The First Century of New England Verse*, Worcester, Mass., The American Antiquarian Society, 1944. (Also published as Vol. 53, part 2 of its *Proceedings* for 1943.)

paper, little more than half of the items have ever been listed. This may seem almost incredible when one thinks of the magnificent bibliographical work that has been done on early American imprints, in Evans' great bibliography, in Worthington Chauncey Ford's more specialized work on early Massachusetts broadsides, and in subsequent publications devoted to the early verse or to verse broadsides in particular.²

A possible explanation is that all of these works covered so large a bibliographical area, the first hundred and sixty years of American printing, that they became bogged down in the unexplored vastnesses of the eighteenth century and unconsciously neglected the seventeenth. A contributory factor is the excessive rarity of the earliest printed verse, especially in broadside form: most of the surviving broadsides have come down to us in only one copy each, many have been lost entirely, or exist only in manuscript or later prints. In a few cases all that we have is an incidental notice in some advertisement, letter, or historical work.

Ford has listed sixteen such broadsides (and a four-page leaflet) for which we have evidence that they were actually issued during the seventeenth century. He also listed ten apocryphal items, most of them drawn from Nathaniel Morton's *New Englands Memoriall*,³ for which there was not one scrap of proof that they had been issued as broadsides. Only recently has evidence come to light that one of these was actually printed separately; and ironically another of the poems in Morton, which Ford failed to list, also turns out to have been printed as a broadside. Three further broadsides were added to the Ford list by Winslow, who in her preface refers to other broadsides in private collections which are unavailable to the scholar, but whether any

² Charles Evans, *American Bibliography . . . [1639-1799]*, Chicago, 1903-1934. 12 Vols.; Worthington Chauncey Ford, *Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800*, Boston, The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922; Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Poetry*, 2nd edition, 2 Vols. in 1, New York, 1930; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*, New Haven, 1930.

³ Cambridge (Mass.), 1669. (Facsimile edition, New York, 1937.)

of these are unknown seventeenth-century items we do not learn.

As for the sixteen broadsides that I can now add to the nineteen known ones, it must be confessed that they are not among the masterpieces of early American literature. From the literary point of view, the manuscript verse has yielded better fruit; and yet only a few of the elegies are as bad as traditional prejudice would make all of them to be. A goodly number are competent and interesting performances, a few are decidedly readable with some truly poetic passages, and many are, in content, of historical value. It is not at all true for these times that the best of the verse was published and the poorer verse remained in manuscript; indeed, the opposite is generally the case. One must always remember that a bibliography of early American imprints can never furnish an adequate basis for a study of early American literature. Many of our misconceptions of the early literature stem from just such a confusion of the history of printing with the history of literature. However, the early imprints do have the validity of the typical, and the study of them can be historically important. These early pieces are, after all, our incunabula, and will always, regardless of literary quality, have the eternal fascination of "first things" about them.

As has been mentioned, Ford listed certain titles from later compilations on the chance that they might have been issued as broadsides at the time. In glancing through a collection of letters and of documents at the Connecticut Historical Society, my eye chanced upon the postscript of a letter which proves that at least one of these hypothetical items was actually issued, though some fifteen years later than the date of the event.⁴ It was Benjamin Woodbridge's poem *Upon the Tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton*. Even the title seems to indicate that it was a later memorial poem rather than a funeral elegy. At the time of Cotton's death

⁴ Thomas Chisholm to Mrs. Margaret Witchfield, Cambridge 27-2-67 (Apr. 27, 1667), MS. Connecticut Historical Society, Wolcott Papers, Vol. 1 (1631-1754), No. 7.

in 1652 Benjamin Woodbridge, the first graduate of Harvard, was settled in England and did not return to America till 1666, even then only for a few years. The following spring Thomas Chisholm of Cambridge wrote a long and interesting letter to his relatives in Connecticut, with valuable references to intellectual activities in Cambridge; in a postscript he added: "I have sent you a small token namely 3 papers of verses made by on[e] doctor woodbridge that was one of the first that did come up at our college upon the reverant mr John Cotton one for your self and one for each of your daughters." All the evidence then seems to indicate that the "paper of verses" (the old designation for a verse broadside) was issued in Cambridge late in 1666 or early in 1667. It was reprinted a few years later in Morton's *Memoriall*. There is only one known verse broadside of earlier date, John Wilson's on Joseph Brisco of 1657, unless Percival Lowell's elegy on the elder John Winthrop was printed in 1665 and not, as seems more likely, about a decade later. Some of the other elegies in Morton *may* first have appeared as broadsides, but till now there is no evidence of that, except for the last poem in the volume, the epitaph on Jonathan Mitchel signed J. S.

There have been two schools of interpretation for these initials, both of them wrong; some editors and historians have ascribed the verses to John Sherman, others to Jeremiah Shepard. There are also dedicatory verses in William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, 1677, which are signed J. S.; these, even at the time, were attributed to John Sherman by the poet Edward Taylor.⁵ However, both of the poems appear with these initials in John Saffin's own manuscript collection of his verse, preserved at the Rhode Island Historical Society.⁶

Though John Saffin's name does not occur in a single history or bibliography of American literature, he was one of the best poets

⁵ Cf. Samuel Abbott Green, *John Foster*, Boston, 1909, p. 79. Taylor's copy of Hubbard with this notation is now in a New York private collection.

⁶ Edited by Caroline Hazard and printed privately, New York, The Harbor Press, 1928.

of the day. As a young man of about twenty-three, he wrote perhaps the finest love lyric of early America, and as a mature man he wrote his great philosophical poem *Consideratus Considerandus*. His whole life followed a tragic curve from the brilliant promise, good fortune, and utter happiness of his youth, through the deepening shadows of his mature age, to an old age of domestic unhappiness and public disgrace, though he maintained his high literary competence to the last. His poetic fame, too, was overhung by a strange fatality. Of his five elegies which were certainly printed at the time, and two others which were possibly printed, not one seems to have survived even in a single printed copy. Had his manuscript commonplace book not come down to us, we should not know that he had written even a line of verse.

The elegy on Mitchel, of which Morton printed only the concluding epitaph, is recorded in full by Saffin with the note, "this is in print." A year earlier, in 1667, had appeared his elegy on John Wilson, this also noted by him as having been printed; it is the third of the known American verse broadsides. A copy of it seems to have come down to Cotton Mather, for he quoted the anagram and the first four lines in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, referring to the author only as "a gentleman."⁷

Saffin offers no indication that his elegies on President Charles Chauncy (1671) and on the mintmaster John Hull (1683) were printed, though he again recorded the printing of his elegy on Governor John Leverett in 1679 and on Governor Josiah Winslow in 1680. The manuscript of the latter unfortunately lacks the first leaf, but at the end is recorded the interesting bibliographical fact: "This Elegie was put in print by T. Maccarty the great Admirer of his vertues." Thaddeus Maccarty was a prominent merchant of the day, but this is the first notice we have of him as a patron of printing and letters. Josiah Winslow was in his time generally considered the first gentleman of New England, truly munificent in his hospitality. The poet's relations to him seem to

⁷ 2nd. edition, Hartford, 1820, Vol. 1, p. 284.

have been very close, perhaps those of a foster brother, for he apparently became the ward of Josiah's father, Edward Winslow, when he came to America at about the age of twelve.

Saffin's elegy on Winslow, with its real personal warmth and excellent composition, is one of his best. His elegy on Wilson, too, is of high quality and compares favorably with the other fine elegies on Wilson, by Jonathan Mitchel and the second Thomas Shepard. Saffin's elegy on Mitchel is less felicitous, though the one on Leverett and also his last printed one, on Thomas Danforth in 1699, are again far better than the average of the day. The last, on Danforth, is likewise accompanied by a note on its printing: "this was committed to the press, by his son in law Capt Fran: Foxcraft." Thus Saffin's contribution to the published verse of his day was a rather considerable one, and, to our knowledge, only Samuel Sewall and later John Danforth were responsible for a larger number of broadsides.

Another elegy on Thomas Danforth, by his nephew John Danforth, was likewise printed; but here we are more fortunate than with Saffin, for a copy of the broadside in fine condition has recently come to light in a small private collection. Till now there has not been the slightest reference to the existence of such a broadside—an indication of what bibliographical surprises may still be tucked away in odd corners.

The other unknown broadside by John Danforth which originated in the seventeenth century (most of his are from the eighteenth) is likewise without imprint. What is worse, there is no indication of date or of author, but merely the title *The Vanity of the World, a Poem*, and four lyric stanzas. It might well have continued resting quietly in The John Carter Brown Library as a print of uncertain origin, if the previous finding of the manuscript original had not made possible its identification. Young John Danforth wrote this earlier version of the poem, with some important differences of line arrangement, on the first leaf of a book of sermon notes which he kept in 1679-1680. The preserved broadside, to

judge from type and paper, is obviously a later edition, probably from the second half of the eighteenth century. We have no knowledge of an earlier edition, though such a one may well have appeared. Of several other broadsides, too, only later editions seem to have been preserved as for instance W. W.'s well known ballad on the Swamp Fight of 1675 in the New London reprint of 1721, and the Lydia Minot elegy with its later woodcut of about 1710.

The second John Cotton, pastor at Plymouth, has long been known for his elegy on the aged John Alden, who had lived through most of New England's first century. But his earlier broadside, on the Reverend Noah Newman, 1678, has disappeared, and is known only through an unpublished letter from his old college friend, Samuel Wakeman of Fairfield, Conn.⁸ In this letter Wakeman thanked Cotton for "two papers of verses upon the deaths . . . of mr Walley & mr Newman the one of which was endorsed with the harty respects of the author." The other broadside here mentioned, on Thomas Walley, also seemed to have been irrevocably lost, but has recently turned up in a manuscript copy by Samuel Sewall.⁹ This reveals it to be the work of Governor Thomas Hinckley, and it is probably the finest of the three elegies which this worthy is known to have written. It truly achieves the main purpose of the elegy, the preservation for posterity of the living image of a great personality.

Cotton's elegy on John Alden is a rather mediocre product, not at all the equal of another, anonymous elegy on Alden, likewise well known and several times reprinted. The author of the latter, I feel fairly sure, was Alden's pastor at Duxbury, Ichabod Wiswall, one of the better versifiers of the day. Wiswall's poem on the comet of 1680, *A Judicious Observation*, London, 1683, and his broadside on Samuel Arnold have been known to some bibliographers, but another broadside elegy has remained practically

⁸MS. Boston Public Library, Cotton Papers, Vol. 8, p. 18.

⁹ MS. New York Historical Society, Commonplace book of Samuel Sewall.

unknown and has not been mentioned for more than a century. It is his elegy on the death of Josiah Winslow, which in the 1820's was in the possession of a Rhode Island family, but has since then not been traced.¹⁰

A broadside which stands somewhat apart from the rest is the one written by Edward Payson on the death of the Reverend Samuel Phillips of Rowley; it is a long, five-part composition of touching awkwardness, with one passage of purest, simplest folk poetry. About 1840 it was in the possession of Thomas Gage, who reprinted it in his *History of Rowley*, but all modern attempts to recover the original seem to have failed.

The great diarist Samuel Sewall was perhaps the first American who developed a collector's interest in broadside verse. He not only collected older elegies, he also saw contemporaneous ones through the press and wrote and published some of his own. Possibly in the belief, not too widely held in early New England, that brevity is the soul of wit, his own broadsides are the smallest of the time, ranging from six to thirty-six lines, with ten or twelve lines the average — this in contrast to most of the broadside elegies of the day which usually went on and on for fifty, a hundred, or even more lines. Many of his poems appeared in several versions with additions and revisions, occasionally also with a Latin and an English version of the same poem, so that the whole constitutes a nice bibliographical labyrinth. Aside from a bookplate with verses of his,¹¹ his one unrecorded broadside from the seventeenth century is a tiny six-line affair on his aunt Mehetabel Holt; it was probably printed about 1689 or 1690. I first found it in manuscript, in Sewall's commonplace book, and later learned that the Massachusetts Historical Society had newly acquired the only known copy of the original broadside.

¹⁰ Cf. John Davis' edition of Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memorial* [sic], Boston, 1826, p. 467 note.

¹¹ From the 1690's; a copy of it is in his commonplace book, New York Historical Society, another at the American Antiquarian Society.


Mrs. Mehetabel Holt
daughter of Mr. Stephen Dummer & Alice his wife
A Person of

EARLY PIETY,

*And quick Understanding in the Fear
of the Lord,*

Was Born at Newbury in New-England, and Died at
Bishop-Stoke, September 30th. 1677. *Ætat. 38.*

America Afforded me my Birth,
And Friendly Europe grants me whit'ning Earth;
This Method Christ my Husband did Propone,
To Fashion my vile Body like His Own:
Quietly rest then let my hopeful Dust
Until the Resurrection of the Just.



For the early eighteenth century, beyond the scope of this paper, Sewall's diary, letter book, and miscellaneous manuscripts are a vast, partly unexplored mine of data on printed ephemera which have either since disappeared or are anonymously recorded in the bibliographies. For instance, the charming New Year's broadside of 1720 is identified by Sewall as John Danforth's. Benjamin Lynde, Experience Mayhew, and others are mentioned as authors of broadside verses, nowhere else recorded. One of Cotton Mather's finest poems also appeared as a broadside, unmentioned in Holmes' magnificent bibliography.¹²

For the seventeenth century Sewall has preserved manuscript copies of three additional printed broadsides which would otherwise be lost. There is first an elegy on Richard Dummer, written in 1689 apparently by a townsman of Newbury whose initials were G. H. The second is a long and elaborate elegiac poem on the death of Queen Mary II, published at Boston in 1695; it is anonymous, and we do not know whether it was written by an American or was simply reprinted from an English broadside. Sewall offers no further indication than the place and date of its printing; the internal evidence is inconclusive, though it seems to point to an English origin.

The third furnished me with the first clue toward clearing away one of the most persistent complexes of bibliographical error for the period. It is the brilliant poem on Governor William Phips of 1695, which we have till now known only in the incomplete version of Cotton Mather's *Pietas in Patriam* and *Magnalia*. Everyone has taken for granted that the elegy was Mather's own, but lo and behold, Sewall carefully appended the imprint "Printed at Boston in New England by B: Green. 1695" and also the name of the author: "D. Hingsman" (Daniel Hinchman). Cotton Mather was frequently careless about giving due credit for the verses which he included in his *Magnalia* and other publications, and he made vague introductory statements which have allowed

¹² Cf. the *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th series, Vol. 7: 449-450, (1911).

later bibliographers to infer that the verses were his own. But in this instance he had some reason for not mentioning the author. Daniel Henchman, the second, wrote the elegy as a senior at Harvard, and then, just before commencement, he seems to have gone on a pre-graduation spree, which was carried to the point of stealing a silver spoon. As a result he did not receive his degree, was packed off to South Carolina in disgrace, and there achieved some fame as a naturalist before he died about thirteen years later.¹³

This unexpected upset of the Mather canon led me to examine the other elegies included in the *Magnalia*, and it now seems fairly certain that only one of them was written by Cotton Mather, the brief one on Shubael Dummer. An anonymous elegy on John Wilson which has long been attributed to Mather¹⁴ could not possibly have been written by him, as a careful examination of the poem and Mather's introductory words to it will clearly demonstrate, even aside from the fact that it is obviously a funeral elegy, written when Mather was only four and a half years old. One recent writer has attributed to Cotton Mather other verses which were written when he was only seven years old, and another has attributed to him a fine elegy which was written when he was only five years old. I mention these not because they are isolated curiosities, but because they are distressingly typical examples for the period, as a careful chronological check has revealed.

The field of seventeenth-century American bibliography is an extremely difficult one, much of the basic work in it has not yet been done, and until it is, many of our ideas about the period are likely to remain a strange mixture of the true and the preposterous. In the subordinate field of attributions, for instance, we have been all too much inclined to take over what were mere guesses of nineteenth-century or earlier historians and bibliographers, and to record them as though they were actual facts. Even in those

¹³ Cf. Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Cambridge, 1933, Vol. 4, pp. 297-298.

¹⁴ Reprinted as Mather's in: *IV. Early American Poetry*, The Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1896.

areas where our knowledge has been greatly extended, we are inclined to repeat old generalizations, even although they are flatly contradicted by the facts now available.

If this little exploration of the field of seventeenth-century verse broadsides has any experimental value for the study of the early imprints as a whole, it seems to indicate that a mere study of the imprints will not do justice even to the imprints. By thus limiting our sources of information we have managed to collect adequate information on only a little more than half of the broadsides. If we are in the future to make any significant advances beyond the point where the great bibliographers have left the work, it seems to me now that the most fruitful method would be a careful co-ordination of the still largely unexplored manuscript material with the carefully and ably compiled information about the presses and printing of the period, which we already possess.

CHECK LIST OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND BROADSIDES.†

1658

JOHN WILSON. A Copy of Verses Made by that Reverend Man of God Mr. John Wilson, Pastor to the first Church in Boston; On the sudden Death of Mr. Joseph Brisco, Who was translated from Earth to Heaven Jan. 1. 1657 [/8].

F 17, W 3

Copy: MHS

1666-1667

*BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE. Upon the Tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late Teacher of the Church of Boston in New-England.

Earliest extant printing in Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, Cambridge, 1669; see note 4 above for evidence of previous publication as a broadside.

† Only the works of Ford and Winslow (cf. note 2 above) are referred to here, since, taken together, they conveniently include mention of all of the seventeenth-century verse-broadsides hitherto known to bibliographers. The entries in Ford are indicated by an F with the proper number, the facsimiles in Winslow by a W with the proper number, the previously unlisted broadsides by an asterisk (*). Further information about many of the items can be found in the bibliography of the author's *First Century of New England Verse*. All but two of the extant seventeenth-century broadsides are represented by unique copies; locations are indicated wherever known.

1667

*JOHN SAFFIN. An Elegie on that Reverend man of God Mr. John Wilson sometime Pastor of the first Church in Boston who Departed this life August 7th 1667.

MS. a. Rhode Island Historical Society with note: "this is in Print." For this and the other Saffin elegies see *John Saffin His Book*, Caroline Hazard, editor, New York, 1928.

1668

ANONYMOUS. Upon the Death of the Virtuuous and Religious Mrs. Lydia Minot, (The wife of Mr. John Minot of Dorchester;) The Mother of Five Children, who Died in Child-Bed of the Sixth; and together therewith was Interred January 27. 1667[/8].

F 33, W 4

Copy: Private Collection

The only extant copy is apparently a later issue of about 1710; cf. Winslow, p. 6.

*JOHN SAFFIN. An Elegie upon the Deplorable, or rathe Deplored Death of that Super-Eminent Minister of the Gospell Mr Jonathan Mitchel Late Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridg, who Desceased on the 9th of July 1668.

MS. a. Rhode Island Historical Society, with note: "this is in Print."

1676

W. W. Some Meditations Concerning our Honourable Gentlemen and Fellow-Souldiers, In Pursuit of those Barbarous Natives in the Narragansit-Country; and Their Service there. Committed into Plain Verse for the Benefit of those that Read it. By an Unfeigned Friend.

F 50, W 53

Copy: MHS

Dated and signed at end: "December 28, 1675. W. W.", possibly Wait Winthrop. Probably printed early in 1676, though the only extant copy is a later issue: "Re-printed at N-London, April 4, 1721."

PERCIVAL LOWELL. A Funeral Elegie (Written many years since) On the Death of the Memorable and truly Honourable John Winthrop Esq: Governour of the Massachusets Colony in N-England. For the space of 19 years, who died in the 63d. Year of his Age, March 26. 1649.

W 2

Copy: MHS

Both Winslow and Wegelin mention 1665 as the possible or probable date of printing. The author is more inclined to believe that it was printed in 1676, along with the typographically similar elegies on the younger Winthrop.

STEPHEN CHESTER. A Funeral Elegy Upon the Death of that Excellent and most worthy Gentleman John Winthrop Esq. Late Governour of his Majestyes Colony of Conecticot, who deceased April, 1676.

F 51, W 5

Copy: MHS

BENJAMIN TOMPSON. A Funeral Tribute To the Honourable Dust of that most Charitable Christian, Unbiassed Politician, And unimitable Pyrotechnist John Winthrope esq: A Member of the Royal Society, & Governour of Conecticut Colony in New-England. Who expired in his Countreys Service, April. 6th, 1676.

F 59

Copy: Private Collection

JOSHUA MOODY. Lamentations Upon the never enough bewailed Death of the Reverend Mr. John Reiner, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Dover who was gathered to his Fathers, December, 21. 1676.

F 53, W 6

Copy: BA

The unique copy is a fragment; most of the missing portion of the poem, as well as the name of the author, was recovered from a MS. copy by Samuel Sewall at The New York Historical Society.

1678

*THOMAS HINCKLEY. Mr. Thomas Walley, The Reverend Pastor of the Church of Christ at Barnstable Who on the Lords day, being the 14 of March 1677/8. He Died entering into 62 year of his age.

No copy of the broadside is known to exist, though a MS. copy in the hand of Samuel Sewall is preserved in The New York Historical Society. For reference to it as a broadside, see the note to the entry below.

*JOHN COTTON II. [Elegy on the Death of the Reverend Mr. Noah Newman, died April 16, 1678.]

No copy is known to exist, though the elegy was certainly issued in broadside form at the time, to judge from Samuel Wakeman's letter to John Cotton, dated Fairfield, April 16, 1680 (MS. BPL, Cotton Papers, vol. 8, p. 18), thanking Cotton for "two papers of verses upon the deaths . . . of mr Walley & mr Newman the one of which was endorsed with the hartly respects of the author" (for the Walley broadside see above).

1679

*JOHN SAFFIN. An Epitaph on the Honble John Leverett Esqr Late Governor of his Majestys Colony of the Massathusetts, who Departed this Life on the or who Changed his Terrene Seat of Justice for a Celestiall Throne (there to keep an Everlasting Sabbath) on the Sixteenth Day of March in the Sixty third year of his age. 1678/9.

MS. a. Rhode Island Historical Society with note: "this is in Print."

1680

*JOHN SAFFIN. [Elegy on the Death of Governor Josiah Winslow.]

MS. a. Rhode Island Historical Society, beginning missing; note at end: "This Elegie was put in print by T. Maccarty the great Admirer of his vertues."

*WILLIAM WETHERELL. Upon the much to be lamented Death of the thrice three times Honoured Josiah Winslow, Esq. . . .

About a century ago the broadside was in the possession of the Seaver family of Kingston, Rhode Island; see John Davis' edition of Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial*, Boston, 1826, p. 467 note, and Samuel Deane, *History of Scituate*, Boston, 1831, pp. 192 & 398.

1681

JOSEPH CAPEN. A Funeral Elegy Upon the much to be Lamented Death and most Deplorable Expiration of the Pious, Learned, Ingenious, and Eminently Usefull Servant of God Mr. John Foster Who Expired and Breathed out his Soul quietly into the Arms of His Blessed Redeemer at Dorchester, Sept. 9th Anno Dom. 1681 Ætatis Anno 33.

F 79

No copy of the broadside is known to have survived; all modern reprints of this and the following elegy derive from a contemporaneous MS. copy.

THOMAS TILESTON. Funeral Elegy Dedicated to the Memory of His Worthy Friend The Learned & Religious Mr. John Foster who Deceased in Dorchester the 9 of Sepbr. 1681.

F 83

Cf. the note to the preceding elegy.

1686

EDWARD TOMPSON. An Elegiack Tribute to the Sacred Dust of the Reverend and Worthy Mr. Seaborn Cotton Pastour of the Church of Christ at Hampton in New-England: who was discharged from his Work and Office, to be admitted into Heaven, April 20th 1686.

F 110

Copy: MHS

1687

JOHN COTTON II. Upon the Death of that Aged, Pious, Sincere-hearted Christian, John Alden Esq: Late Magistrate of New-Plimouth Colony, who dyed Sept 12th. 1687. being about eighty nine years of age.

F 111

Copies: BA, MHS

See Ford ref. on the possibility that this broadside may have been printed in 1714. Facsimile in *The Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 9, facing p. 193 (1907).

ICHABOD WISWALL. A Small Testimony of that great Honour due to that Honourable Servant of God and his Generation John Alden Esq; Who changed this life for a better, Sept. 12th. Anno Domini 1687. Annoq' Ætatis 89.

W 7

Copy: Mass. Soc. of Mayflower Descendants

Imprint: "Printed in the year, MDCLXXXVII."

1688

NEHEMIAH WALTER. An Elegiack Verse, On the Death Of the Pious and Profound Grammarian and Rhetorician, Mr. Elijah Corlet, Schoolmaster of Cambridge, Who Deceased Anno Ætatis 77. Feb. 24. 1687[/8].

F 114

Copy: HCL

Erroneously listed by Ford under 1687.

ANONYMOUS. The Plain Case Stated Of Old - - but especially of New-England, in an Address to His Highness The Prince of Orange.

F 119

Copy: MHS

Imprint: "Boston, Printed for and Sold by Benjamin Harris at the London-Coffee-house." See third column of poem for praise of "true Ben Harris."

1689.

*G. H. An Elegy Upon the Death of the Worshipfull Richard Dummer Esq. Who deceased at newbury July 4. 1689.

No copy of the broadside is known to exist, but Samuel Sewall's MS. copy at The New York Historical Society concludes with the note (or imprint): "Printed at Boston N. E. 1689."

1689-1690

*SAMUEL SEWALL. Mrs. Mehetabel Holt a Person of Early Piety, and quick Understanding in the Fear of the Lord, Was Born at Newbury in New-England, and Died at Bishop-Stoke, September 30th. 1677. Ætat. 38.

Copy: MHS

1693

ICHABOD WISWALL. Upon the Death of that Reverend and Aged Man of God, Mr. Samuel Arnold, Pastor of the Church at Marshfield, who deceased in the 71st Year of his Age, and of his Ministry the 36th, September 1. 1693.

F 197, W 8

Copy: LC

The fourth column contains, "Mr. Samuel Arnold, . . . his last Farewell to the World. Written by himself not long before his Death."

1694

DEODATE LAWSON. Threnodia, Or a Mournfull Remembrance, of the much to be Lamented Death of the Worthy & Pious Capt. Anthony Collamore, Who together with Five Persons more were Cast-away in a Sloop going from Scituate Harbour toward Boston, On the 16. Day of December. 1693.

W 9

Copy: Private Collection

Imprint: "Printed at Boston by Bartholemew Green, 1694."

1695

*DANIEL HENCHMAN. Lamentations Upon The Death of Sir William Phips, Knight Governour. Who Expired in London February 18 1694,5.

No copy of the broadside is known to exist, but Samuel Sewall's MS. copy at The New York Historical Society concludes with the imprint: "Printed at Boston in New England by B: Green. 1695."

*ANONYMOUS. A General Tribute of Tears: For the Death of her Royal Majesty Mary, Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland.

No copy of the broadside is known to exist, but Samuel Sewall's MS. copy at The New York Historical Society concludes with the note (or imprint): "Printed at Boston 1695." This was very likely a reprint of an English broadside.

SAMUEL SEWALL. Mrs. Judith Hull, of Boston, in N. E. Daughter of Mr. Edmund Quincey; late Wife of John Hull Esq. deceased. A Diligent, Constant, Fruitfull Reader and Hearer of the Word of God, Rested from her Labours, June, 22. 1695....

F 210, 211

Copies: BPL, AAS, and Private Collection

Two different issues of 10 and 12 lines.

1696

*EDWARD PAYSON. A Small Contribution to the Memorial of that truly Worthy, and Worthily Man of God, Mr. Samuel Phillips, Pastor to the Church of Christ in Rowley, who deceased, April 22d, 1696, *Ætatis* 71.

About a century ago the broadside was in the possession of Thomas Gage; see his *History of Rowley*; Boston, 1840, pp. 79-84.

1699

- *JOHN DANFORTH. A Funeral Elegy Humbly Dedicated to the Renowned Memory of the Honorable, Thomas Danforth Esq. Of Cambridge, Sometime Deputy Governour in the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay . . .

Copy: Private Collection, newly acquired by HCL

- *JOHN SAFFIN. An Elegy On the Late Deplorable Expiration of the Honorable Thomas Danforth Esqr one of his Majestys Council in the Province of the Massathusetts Bay in New England. who departed this life on the fifth of November (being on the Lords Day) in the 77 year of his age Anno 1699.

MS. a. Rhode Island Historical Society, with the note: "this was committed to the press, by his son in law Capt Fran: Foxcraft."

- ANONYMOUS. A Watch for a Wise Man's Observation. In Two Parts. First, A Divine Poem, on the Three Persons in the Holy-Trinity, . . . The Second Part, Containing, A Preparation for Death.

F 238

Copy: MHS

Imprint: "Boston, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Michael Perry, and are to be sold at his Shop over against the Town House. 1699." Probably a reprint of an English broadside.

1700

- SAMUEL SEWALL. Upon Mr. Samuel Willard, his first coming into the Assembly, and Praying, after a long and dangerous Fit of Sickness; November 21. 1700. at 3. in the Afternoon, being a Day of Publick Thanksgiving.

F 244

Copy: MHS

It was reissued in 1720.

UNCERTAIN DATE

- *JOHN DANFORTH. The Vanity of the World, A Poem.

Copy: JCB

The MS. original, in Danforth's hand, is at the MHS, with sermon notes from 1679-1680, but the extant broadside is, to judge from paper and type, a later issue from the second half of the eighteenth century.

ADDENDA

There is some reason for believing that the following elegies may also have appeared as broadsides at the time, though conclusive evidence is lacking. For further details see the bibliography of the author's *First Century of New England Verse*:

- 1668 Thomas Shepard II, [Elegy on the Death of the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Mitchel.]
- 1678 William Wetherell. On the piously affected Matron, Mrs. Sarah Cushing.
- 1680 Ichabod Wiswall. [Elegy on the Death of Governor Josiah Winslow.]

For about six or eight other elegies there is a somewhat slighter possibility that they also appeared originally as broadsides.

APOCRYPHAL ITEMS

For the following poems, listed as broadsides in Ford, there is at present not the slightest proof that they appeared in broadside form:

- No. 6. Peter Bulkeley on Thomas Hooker, 1647.
- 7. John Cotton I on Thomas Hooker, 1647.
- 9. John Norton on John Cotton, 1652.
- 10. Benjamin Woodbridge on John Cotton, 1652.
Cf. above under 1666-1667.
- 25. Edward Bulkeley on Samuel Stone, 1663.
- 26. Thomas Shepard II on John Norton, 1663.
- 32. Jonathan Mitchel on John Wilson, 1667.
- 34. Edward Bulkeley on Jonathan Mitchel, 1668.
- 207. Elijah Corlet on Thomas Hooker, 1695.
- 60. George Joy, Innocency's Complaint, 1677, was certainly not issued in New England during the century, but in England.
The MHS copy is a much later issue of about 1790 or 1800.
- 196. Benjamin Bosworth, Sings of Apostacy lamented, 1693, is not a broadside, but a four-page leaflet.

Extreme Rarities in the Published Works of Theodore Roosevelt*

By NORA E. CORDINGLEY

NO attempt is here made to place Theodore Roosevelt in the field of American literature, though he rightfully could take a high-ranking place. Affairs of state might call him to the service of his country, but he ever turned to writing for refreshment and recreation in its deeper sense. No President, other than Jefferson, had so inquiring a mind or so facile a pen, and he was more fortunate than Jefferson in that he saw his works published. His interests were wide—from the Mongols to the Irish sagas; from natural history to naval history; from politics and statesmanship to letters to his children. Prolific though his writings were, well over 2700 items, they showed remarkable scholarship, and not a few are to this day considered the standard authorities in their fields. Because he was a man of letters, an historian and a biographer, an orator and an essayist, he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and Brander Matthews expressed the opinion that only his prominence in public life obscured his eminence as a writer.

Reputedly the most inclusive library of Theodore Rooseveltiana was collected over a period of twenty-odd years by the Roosevelt Memorial Association of New York. This collection was donated by the Trustees of the Association to Harvard College Library in the Spring of 1943. There are in this collection a few rarities of considerable interest, and it is about them that this paper is concerned. It is based on an examination of the books them-

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Society, 26 January 1945.

selves and on the unpublished bibliography of the writings of Theodore Roosevelt prepared by R. W. G. Vail, when librarian of the Association.

The bibliographical study of all of Theodore Roosevelt's published works presents many an interesting problem. Take, for instance the various editions of his *Works*—a very intricate study indeed. An amusing hour could be spent in a consideration of his 1904 published *Works*: Executive Edition (Collier) and Statesman's Edition (Review of Reviews), published simultaneously from identical plates. A chance offer from a dealer, only this last winter, revealed the fact that in a re-issue in 1910 a certain amount of revision of text had been made, which had not previously been noticed. A close examination of texts of the various issues might prove a tedious but rewarding experience.

But this paper is limited to a discussion of those items which were published in issues not exceeding 100 copies; those of which only a few copies are known; and again of some merely "hard-to-gets." This limitation of the field will therefore exclude a discussion of some interesting items such as *Liber Scriptorum; the First Book of the Authors' Club* (1893), since the number of copies in the published edition was 251. To this book, Theodore Roosevelt contributed one chapter: *A Shot at a Bull Elk*. As all contributions to the book were signed in ink by the respective authors, his article is also so signed. Excluded also will be the large paper edition of *Thomas Hart Benton and Gouverneur Morris*, as found in the *American Statesmen's Series*, since 500 copies was the issue.

The items chosen for discussion are dealt with under two major groups (1) Contemporary and (2) Posthumous. The contemporary items are discussed under such sub-divisions as: *Ephemera*; *Copyright editions*; *Limited editions of small issues*; *Pre-first editions*; *Speeches and addresses*, and under such headings will fall the greater part of the paper. The posthumous rarities are only two in number, but they should prove of some interest to collectors and bibliophiles.

Ephemera

Firmly established in the hearts of collectors as being very desirable items, are Theodore Roosevelt's *Bird Lists*. It so happens that his first published work — always of special interest — is a bird list: *The Summer Birds | of the Adirondacks in Franklin County, N. Y. |* [rule] | By Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and H. D. Minot. | [rule] | [Salem: Naturalists' Agency (Samuel E. Cassino). Printed at the Salem Press, Oct. 1877]. 4p. 8° (9¼" x 6") Caption title.

In March 1923, Mr. Cassino who was still living in Salem recalled the incident of publishing the *Birds*:

It was in the summer of '76 or '77 that Roosevelt and Minot came to my rooms in Salem to purchase scientific material. I remember that Roosevelt was very tall [sic!] and slight and full of enthusiasm. . . . He was interested in a list of scientific pamphlets which I was publishing, and eager to have his bird pamphlets included. I do not remember publishing anything for Roosevelt except the *Birds of the Adirondacks*. My memoranda of that period were destroyed in the Salem fire. . . .

Mr. A. D. Porter, a friend of Mr. Cassino, offers the information that Roosevelt and Cassino were friends and roamed the woods of Eastern Massachusetts together.

Theodore Roosevelt and Harry Minot were college pals at Harvard, and must have been most congenial comrades, judging from a handful of original TR letters to him now in the Roosevelt Collection. Alas, the family has died out, and it would seem that we are never to know more than we do at present. Together these boys spent two weeks of their first college summer vacation — 1877 — camping in the Adirondacks and studying bird life. Minot stayed only for the week of June 22, but Roosevelt stayed until July 9, when he returned to Oyster Bay. In a letter to his camp companion of a few weeks previous he recounted further bird observations — a four-page holograph letter full of enthusiasm for their hobby and bristling with technical descriptions and learned Latin names.

The little leaflet under discussion is the result of this short vacation, together with some observations made by Theodore Roosevelt in August 1874 and August 1875. Remarkable as it may seem, it gained immediate recognition in the scientific world. Dr. J. A. Allen, editor of the *Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Society* (later *The Auk*) gave it mention in a short review in Vol. III no. 1, Jan. 1878: "Messrs. Roosevelt [!] and Minot have published a very acceptable list of the summer birds of the Adirondacks, embracing 97 species, with short notes respecting their abundance—the first list known to us of the birds of this ornithologically little-explored region." In the following issue of the same Bulletin (April 1878) C. Hart Merriam, under the initials C. H. M., gave it more extended notice:

By far the best of recent lists which I have seen is that of the *Summer Birds of the Adirondacks in Franklin County, N. Y. by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and H. D. Minot*. Though not redundant with information and mentioning but 97 species, it bears prima facie evidence of reliability—which seems to be a great desideratum in bird lists nowadays. Based on the sound principle of exclusion, it contains only those species which the authors have themselves observed there and consequently furnishes that which was most needed, i.e. exact and thoroughly reliable information concerning the most characteristic birds of the limited region [Franklin County] of which they treat.

Even as late as 1910, the list was considered of sufficient importance for Elon Howard Eaton to incorporate it in his: *Birds of New York* (Albany, 1910, Vol. I, Sect. IV, Pt. 1). Here he states that this little work was the "First definite study of our Adirondack avi-fauna."

Theodore Roosevelt's manuscript journals of observations from which this list was compiled are extant, and are on loan by the Roosevelt Estate to the Harvard Roosevelt collection. They are: *Field Book of Zoölogy, 1876-1879* and *Notes on the Fauna of the Adirondack Mts., 1871-1877*.

Although rare, this *Summer Birds* list is not the most elusive for Roosevelt collectors to acquire. It was published probably in an

edition of 100 copies for private distribution by the authors, as well as for sale by the publisher, Mr. Cassino. When in 1921 a dealer purchased the remaining stock of Samuel E. Cassino he found some forty-odd copies. A few were sold to customers for fifty cents, copies were presented to various members of the Roosevelt family and the balance passed into the hands of a private collector. Colonel Roosevelt's own original copy, with the date "October 1877" in ink in his autograph, is in his college scrapbook in the Harvard Roosevelt Collection as is also a Minot presentation copy. This latter bears the inscription: "Inscribed for C. H. Merriam by H. D. Minot" (in ink) followed by a pencilled note: "A very poor return for your review. H. D. M." Mr. Merriam, in reply to a letter addressed to him January 5, 1922 states: "This refers to a publication I had previously sent him entitled *A Review of the Birds of Connecticut* — not an anticipatory review of the leaflet in question." A few other copies are to be found in such likely places as The New York Public Library, the New York State Library, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Occasionally a copy will be offered for sale through auction channels, and during the last twenty years it has varied in price from a low of \$18.00 to a high of \$150.00, and even, with the Oyster Bay and White House Lists, \$525.00, in 1927.

Following closely upon the publication of *Summer Birds* came Colonel Roosevelt's second bird list and second publication: *Notes on Some of the Birds of Oyster Bay, | Long Island. | [Rule] | By Theodore Roosevelt. March, 1879. | [Rule] Caption title.* This was issued as a broadside 10" x 6" approximately, with verso blank.

Nothing is definitely known as to printer or size of edition, though its extreme rarity would indicate a very small issue. There are about twelve known copies, with six appearing at auction during the years 1921 to 1943.

Once again, the bird list "made" the *Bulletin of the Nuttall*

Ornithological Society (July 1879). J. A. A. [Allen] here establishes the date as "March 1879" and continues: "Several of the species are given as rare to the locality, while the observations respecting others are of interest."

The two bird lists have been reprinted in complete facsimile in the *Roosevelt Wild Life Bulletin* (Syracuse, N. Y.), Vol. I., no. 4 (March 1923), and in an edition privately printed in 1925 by Frank Walters, a dealer in books on natural history in New York. This constitutes the 2d edition and was limited to 200 numbered copies, priced at \$2.50 per copy. It was issued in brown wrappers with the title within double box, all edges cut and text printed on Japan paper.

As in the case of the *Summer Birds* the manuscript journals are extant and are on loan by the Roosevelt Estate to the Harvard Roosevelt Collection: *Remarks on the Zoölogy of Oyster Bay, L. I., 1874-1876* and *Field Book of Zoölogy, 1876-1879*.

Years passed. But Colonel Roosevelt's interest in bird life never flagged. And so we find a third bird list—the "White House" list. This was compiled for Mrs. Lucy W. Maynard, who recalls the occasion for *Bird-Lore* (March-April 1910) in which the list was printed:

When Mr. Richard Kearton, the English ornithologist and author, brought his wonderful motion pictures of bird-life to this country, he came directly to Washington and gave his first exhibition at the White House to a small company of invited guests. Pres. Roosevelt seemed to enjoy the entertainment immensely. . . . It was when the party was breaking up that I had an opportunity to speak to the President, and I asked him if I might make, from a magazine article of his, a list of the birds he mentioned having seen about the White House. I explained that I wanted it for a new edition of my local bird book, *Birds of Washington and Vicinity*. "Why yes," he answered cordially. "But I'll do better for you than that. I'll make you a list of all the birds I can remember having seen since I have been here."

Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Maynard received the list, in holograph manuscript, and many years later presented it to the Roosevelt Collection. Its published title and description reads: *President Roosevelt's | List of Birds | [rule] | Seen in the White House Grounds*

and | about Washington during | his Administration | [rule] [Washington, 1908]. 3p., with verso of p. 3 blank. (7¾" x 5") Caption title.

A very few copies, probably not more than fifteen or twenty, were kept as separates, most of the edition being used as inserts (tipped in) in copies still remaining unsold of Mrs. Maynard's *Birds of Washington* (Washington, 1898 and 1902). Auction records for the last twenty years note only two entries for this, in 1927 and again in 1934. In the 1909 edition of her book, the list appears re-set, with the last three lines of the text (Mrs. Maynard's note) omitted and with the list bound (not tipped) in. Though printed separately from the book, no separates of this edition are known.

In 1931, Mrs. Maynard published a "quantity" in Washington, thereby creating a second separate edition. These were issued in light green wrappers, lettered on the side: *President Roosevelt's | List of Birds | Seen in | District of Columbia.*

Tragedy — double tragedy — stalked into the life of Assemblyman Roosevelt on February 14, 1884. In the same house and on the same day death bereaved him of wife and mother. To alleviate his sorrow and in tribute to them, he published privately through the firm of G. P. Putnam's Sons of New York, of which firm he was then a member, his:

In Memory | of | my Darling Wife | Alice Hathaway Roosevelt | and of | my Beloved Mother | Martha Bulloch Roosevelt | who died in the Same House and on the Same Day | on February 14, 1884 | [rule] | Theodore Roosevelt [New York, 1884]. 45p. 8° (8" x 5¾").

It is not known how many of these were published. The Roosevelt Collection does not own a copy, but secured a photostatic reproduction from one owned by Colonel Roosevelt's sister Corinne

IN MEMORY

OF

MY DARLING WIFE

ALICE HATHAWAY ROOSEVELT

AND OF

MY BELOVED MOTHER

MARTHA BULLOCH ROOSEVELT

WHO DIED IN THE SAME HOUSE AND ON THE SAME DAY
ON FEBRUARY 14, 1884

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(Mrs. Douglas Robinson). It was issued in black limp morocco leather, with the title within a heavy mourning box, all edges black, rounded corners and black watered silk doublures.

By-laws | of the | Little Missouri River | Stockmen's Association |
[rule] | Theodore Roosevelt, Chairman | Henry S. Boice,
Vice-Chairman | [rule] | Press of | G. P. Putnam's Sons | 27
& 29 West 23d Street, New York | 1885. 6p. 16° (6¾" x
4 15/16").

The Bad Lands Cowboy, a newspaper published in the 1880's in Medora, Dakota Territory, and now almost as scarce as the *By-laws*, carried a notice in its issue of December 18, 1884, calling a meeting of stockmen of the region to be held in Roberts Hall, Medora, at 11 A.M. Friday, December 19th. "The object is to bring together the cattlemen of this vicinity in order that they may discuss certain questions of immediate and pressing interest to them, and in order that they may take measures to provide for a more efficient organization of the stockmen of this vicinity in the future. . . . All gentlemen interested in stock raising both those on the Little Missouri and those on the neighboring waters are urgently requested to attend. [By request] Theodore Roosevelt."

One of the questions "of immediate and pressing interest" was of course horse-thieving! And for a colorful account of this menace to property and of one man's private attempt to do his bit towards eradicating the evil I recommend Roosevelt's story *Sheriff's Work on the Ranch*, a chapter in his: *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*.

The Minutes of this first meeting of the "Stranglers," as this vigilante organization came to be locally nicknamed, record the following resolution: "Resolved, that the chairman [Roosevelt] draw up a series of byelaws for the Association. . . ." And before continuing, we should record that the above minutes—original

manuscript in Roosevelt's autograph — are one of the prized possessions of the Harvard Roosevelt Collection, having the added interest of having been donated by TR's ranchman, Joseph A. Ferris, the store-keeper of Medora.

The By-laws of the Little Missouri River Stockmen's Association is one of the rarest of all Roosevelt items. The first and only edition probably consisted of not more than twenty-four copies for the use of the twenty members of the association as listed on page 6.

Through William W. ["Bill"] Sewall, a ranch partner and part-manager of Roosevelt's Elkhorn ranch, was secured the copy now in the Harvard Roosevelt Collection. An envelope accompanies the item, addressed by hand to Sewall & Dow, Medora, Dakota, and postmarked Wadena, Minn., Jan. 31, 1885. As none of the members of the association were located at Wadena (and the handwriting not being identified—it is certainly not Roosevelt's) we will never know who was the sender!

The only other known copy is owned by W. J. Crawford, Jr., of Cleveland, Ohio, whose collection of Roosevelt first editions is, perhaps, the best in private hands.

Copyright Editions

The items so far discussed are rare because of their ephemeral nature. In the next category to be considered are some items which are rare because of the fact that apparently only a sufficient number were published to secure *Copyright*.

The earliest was:

*Some American | Game | By | Theodore Roosevelt | Author of
Wilderness Hunter, Hunting Trips | of a Ranchman, etc. | [leaf
orn.] | G. P. Putnam's Sons | New York and London | The
Knickerbocker Press | 1897. 34p. 16° (65 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 43 $\frac{3}{8}$ ").*

In March 1897 Part I of an English publication appeared, to be followed monthly by Pts. II–XX, ending October 1898 — *The Encyclopaedia of Sport* (London, Lawrence and Bullen). It was

then issued in a two-volume work, followed by an American edition from the English plates, published in 1898 by Putnam's.

Colonel Roosevelt contributed to this undertaking eleven brief signed articles: *Bison*; *Caribou*; *Rocky Mountain Goat*; *Opossum and Raccoon Hunting*; *Peccary*; *Prairie Chicken*; *Pronghorn*; *Puma*; *Turkey*; *Wapiti*; *Wolf Coursing*. The last eight end with the note: Copyright in U. S. A., while titles underscored were published in America with the title: *Some American Game*. It is certain that these four were first published in the pamphlet, for the author made thirty-eight corrections and changes in the text before the articles were included in the *Encyclopaedia*.

The first and only edition of *Some American Game* consisted of a few copies, probably not more than a dozen, printed for the purpose of copyright. Only four copies are now known: one perfect copy in the Roosevelt Collection; one in the possession of Mr. W. J. Crawford, Jr., of Cleveland, Ohio; one cut down and bound into a pamphlet volume in The New York Public Library; and the author's copy in the library of the late Kermit Roosevelt. No copy has appeared at auction for over twenty years.

Though none of this series of eleven articles has appeared outside of *Some American Game* and the various editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Sport*, the information, and in some instances the phraseology, has been used in part in more elaborate studies in later volumes, such as the chapter on the wapiti in his: *The Deer Family*.

In 1911, and again in 1912, a revised and enlarged edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Sport* was published by William Heinemann in London in four volumes. The text was so greatly revised that it forms virtually a new work, but the Theodore Roosevelt items did not undergo very much textual revision—a few mere scatterings—except that the chapter on *Wolf Coursing* was omitted entirely. However, quite a few changes did occur in the illustrations, some of the original ones being omitted and in several cases new ones either added or substituted.

*The | Naval Operations | of the War between Great Britain | and
the United States | 1812-1815 | By | Theodore Roosevelt |
Boston: Little, Brown and Company | London: Sampson
Low, Marston, and Company, Ltd. | 1901. 290p. 8°
(8¼" x 5⅜").*

This American edition is of great rarity in Theodore Roosevelt's published works and has a rather interesting story as well.

Colonel Roosevelt had agreed to write this work as a chapter in W. Laird Clowes' *The Royal Navy*, when he was Police Commissioner of New York. He completed the manuscript and corrected the proof while Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The text was printed while he was Vice-president and the work finally completed and published after he became President in 1901.

There are certain expressions in the text which, while historically accurate and proper for a private citizen to make, may seem out of place when stated by the President of the United States. For this reason President Roosevelt asked the American publishers (Little, Brown & Co.) to cancel the contract and suppress the work. This they did, with the exception of ten copies published to secure the American copyright. The English publisher (Sampson Low, Marston & Company) would not, however, agree to omit this material from *The Royal Navy* and it was there published in both the American and English editions in 1901 (Vol. VI). The author's wishes, however, were respected insofar as the separate edition was concerned, for the American edition of the work was never regularly published and the English separate edition was withheld until Roosevelt had left the Presidency. It was finally issued in 1910.

It is probable that the plates of the American edition were sent to London and there held by the English publisher until 1910 and then published with the addition of a half-title, a new title page and advertisements at the end. At any rate the text of pp. [1]-290

of the American and English editions are identical, except that the English edition omits the foot-note on p. [1] which leaves that page one line shorter than other pages of the book. Either the English edition was published from the American plates, as suggested, or else a new set of plates were photographically made in England from a copy of the American edition. This latter may have been the procedure, as Little, Brown & Company are of the opinion that they printed the ten copies of the American edition from type which was then distributed. At this date it is probably impossible to settle this point.

At any rate we have the publisher's story of the publishing of ten copies with the imprint, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1901, in order to secure American copyright. It was issued in stiff cream wrappers, all edges cut, in a 290 page octavo volume ($8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$), and printed at the University press, John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Two copies were sent to The Library of Congress for such purpose, and there entered on November 18, 1901; two were sent to the English publishers, Sampson Low, Marston & Company of London, who forwarded them to Stationers Hall to secure the English copyright; two copies were sent to Theodore Roosevelt, one of which has found its way into the collection of Mr. Crawford of Cleveland, while one is still in the possession of some member of the Roosevelt family; one copy was sold to complete the copyright; and three were sent to members of the firm of Little, Brown. One of these three copies came on the market after the death of one of the members — Heartman Sale no. 209, November 30, 1929. Judging from the description given in *American Book Prices* this copy again appeared for sale in 1935 and was sold by the American Art Galleries for \$100.00.

This work should not be confused with the author's earlier and much longer volume, *The Naval War of 1812* (Putnam's 1882). The present volume, though brief, is written with mature judgment and without prejudices.

Murder on the High Seas | By Theodore Roosevelt | Price, five cents | Copyright, 1915, by *The Metropolitan Magazine* | Published May 11, 1915.

This editorial was written by Colonel Roosevelt while he was at Syracuse, New York, on May 9, 1915, during the Barnes-Roosevelt trial. This was two days after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and is his answer to that crime. It was mailed to the *Metropolitan Magazine* in New York, and was at once set up for use in the June number of that periodical. The editors felt, however, that it was of such great importance as a message to the American people that they ought to give it to the daily press at once, even though it had not as yet appeared in their own pages. In order to secure copyright, therefore, it was necessary to print the editorial page as a separate and have it copyrighted before its release to the press. The result was this separate, the text of which was printed on a single leaf, 14" x 11" in size, and from type set up for use in the June number. A title page was printed on the verso, on the lower half and at right angles to the text. The leaf was then folded in half, making a small folio of half the original size, with the title page [1]; double page of text at right angles to the title, [2-3]; and final page [4] blank.

In this form it was published on May 11, 1915, two copies were sent to the Copyright office as required by law, and the copyright was issued the same day. These copies became the property of the Library of Congress.

A routine consultation of printed L. C. cards unearthed this little copyright rarity. The card called for two copies. Correspondence followed, only to disclose that one of the copies had become worn out and discarded, and that the one remaining copy had been placed in the broadside collection. Though issued at five cents a copy, no evidence has been forthcoming that any copies were ever sold. The Roosevelt Collection has had to content itself with a photostat of this one remaining copy.

MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PRICE, FIVE CENTS

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED MAY 11, 1915

The purpose of the editors in thus releasing the editorial was accomplished. The *New York Times* carried it in its issue of May 12, 1915, as did other newspapers throughout the country. And as originally intended, it was published in the June number of the *Metropolitan Magazine*, twenty days after the first original broadsheet publication. It was later included in his book: *Fear God and Take your own Part*. New York [1916] pp. 351-353, with the addition of about two pages of new material.

The original holograph manuscript fills six pages of social letter paper, with a pencil note of the editor of the *Metropolitan Magazine* on the verso of the last page. It was given to the Roosevelt Collection by the editor, H. J. Whigham.

Only two other metropolitan editorials by Theodore Roosevelt are known to have been issued in separate form: *When is an American not an American* and *The Great Adventure*. There is a difference however. They were first published in the magazine, and later reprinted as separates, while *Murder on the High Seas* was published as a separate some twenty days earlier than the serial appearance.

Chapters of a Possible Autobiography

This "story" might be prefaced by asking rhetorically: When is an autobiography not an autobiography? Although only the Copyright Edition of this title legitimately falls within the limitations of this paper, the whole publishing project of the Autobiography poses such an interesting question that I have felt it should be given in its entirety, and as accurately as possible.

A year or so ago, a prominent magazine owner and editor, now in retirement and occupied in writing his reminiscences, made the following inquiries and I cannot do better than quote from his letter to me:

As I remember it, Theodore Roosevelt's Autobiography first appeared in a series of papers published in "The Outlook." I think you can easily answer a question or two, particularly as regards dates.

First, just when did this serial publication begin and how long did it continue?

Second, when did the Autobiography first appear as a bound volume, and are the contents identical with the material that appeared in the *Outlook*?

Third, is the volume as it appears in the definitive [Memorial] set of Roosevelt's *Works* identical in content with the previous appearance of the book, and of the chapters as they were printed in the *Outlook*?

My inquiries might seem to have very trifling importance, yet they always have a purpose. Bishop's* volumes were begun in anticipation of the political campaign of 1916, and were ended in an entirely different tempo, after the close of Roosevelt's career by his death in January 1919. The T. R. Autobiography was also written in a certain atmosphere of contemporary politics by a man who was looking ahead, and who told of things past by reason of their bearing upon things present and yet to come.

After careful research, and by the great help of Mr. Vail's bibliography, I answered him as follows:

COPYRIGHT EDITION. *Chapters of a Possible Autobiography*. (New York, *Outlook*, 1913). 8° (9" x 6¼").

Issued as ten separate pamphlets, this first edition was set up and printed for copyrighting purposes only — probably not more than twelve copies, only three being known in 1928. It was issued before the work appeared serially in the *Outlook*, does not include the two final chapters of the *Outlook* version or the additional chapters of the Autobiography which appeared only in book form.

OUTLOOK EDITION. *Chapters of a Possible Autobiography*. Twelve parts, issued as follows: 1913

February 22	May 24	August 23	November 22
March 22	June 28	September 27	December 6
April 26	July 26	October 25	December 27

The *Outlook* version corresponds to chapters I-X; XIV-XV of the book edition. At the beginning of the 11th instalment, December 6, 1913, the *Outlook* editors stated that in the book to be published by Macmillan's, Colonel Roosevelt would give additional chapters on conservation; trusts; coal strike; labor and capital. The volume would also contain appendices and documents not in the *Outlook*.

NEW YORK TRIBUNE EDITION. *Chapters of a Possible Autobiography*.—April 13, 1913—February 22, 1914.

Reprinted in part from the serial publication in the *Outlook*, and in part

* *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt, as shown in his own Letters*, compiled by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (Scribner 1921).

from the first edition of the Autobiography. Issued through the McClure Syndicate and published, among other papers, in the *New York Tribune* in a series of 46 weekly Sunday instalments.

FIRST EDITION. Book form. (Macmillan, 1913). Published in November 1913. Chapter IX—pp. 349-354 originally published in the *Outlook*, July 23, 1910, pp. 614-616. The remainder of this chapter is based on chapter XI of *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter*, 1905 edition, pp. 339-359, and chapter XIII of the second edition of the same (1908) though entirely rewritten. Chapter VI—partly published in the *Century*, October, 1897, pp. 803-814, as the *Roll of Honor of the New York Police*.

The original manuscript of most of this work is owned by The J. Pierpont Morgan Library. It contains a few passages omitted from letters on pp. 180-184; 532-536; also pp. 597-602. Mr. Vail inserted the changes in one of our copies of the first edition.

It was originally planned to publish the work under the title, "Some chapters from a possible autobiography." Later it was suggested and a dummy issued using the title, "Fifty years of my life." Mr. Vail thinks these titles describe the work better than the one finally chosen by the publishers, as it was by no means a complete or connected autobiography, but the publishers seemed to have the feeling that the title, "Autobiography" would be a better aid to the sale of the book. Three of the chapters in the first edition, together with a number of shorter passages, appeared for the first time in the book, notably:

Foreword	Complete Chapters XI, XII, XIII
Appendices to Chapter VII	Appendices to Chapter XIV
Appendices to Chapter VIII	Appendices to Chapter XV

In 1919, Macmillan sold their rights to Scribner's. The first edition with the Scribner imprint has a publisher's note stating that Bishop's letters, when issued in the next year, would complete authentically the record of Colonel Roosevelt's career—that these two books together would constitute the life and letters of Theodore Roosevelt as designed by himself.

DEFINITIVE EDITION. *Works*. Memorial Edition.

The text follows the first edition. The two appendices following Chapter XV have been placed after Chapter XII and a second appendix to Chapter XIV has been added by the editor (Hermann Hagedorn). No other changes have been made from the volume as first published.

Limited Editions

If by limited editions I am to consider only those of issues under 100 copies, I find I have to consider only two publications:

The Deer Family and *A Note on the Irish Theatre* [George Bernard Shaw collectors please note!].

The Deer Family | By | Theodore Roosevelt | T. S. Van Dyke, D. G. Elliott | and | A. J. Stone | Illustrated by Carl Rungius and others | [head of a deer] | New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1902 | All rights reserved | 8° (9 1/16" x 6 1/4"). Issued in 3/4 green morocco, panelled and lettered in gold on back. Half-title reads: "Of this book one hundred (100) copies have been printed on large paper of which this is . . ."

To describe the first edition of *The Deer Family* is to do so for Volume I of the *American Sportsman's Library*, edited by Caspar Whitney, in 16 volumes, in the large paper edition (9" x 6 1/4"). As these volumes were not sold separately, *The Deer Family* has been extremely difficult for the Roosevelt collector to acquire. The Theodore Roosevelt material consists of five chapters under a caption: *The Deer and Antelope of North America*. With some minor changes all these chapters were reprinted in 1905 in his: *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter*, except for the illustrations. Drawings by Carl Rungius and others embellish the large paper first edition — twenty-five drawings on twenty plates, the frontispiece being on Japan vellum. Dr. C. Hart Merriam also contributed seven range maps.

The Deer Family had several favorable reviews. I quote from the *Nation* (June 19, 1902): "If the rest of the [Sportsman's Library] series are equally good, Mr. Caspar Whitney may well be proud of his success as editor. . . . The illustrations, chiefly by Carl Rungius, are excellent and appropriate and the entire contents of the book bear evidence of having been written by men who have a loving and educated interest in their subjects." Mr. C. A. Kofoed in the *Dial* (October 16, 1902) makes note of it, and stresses the plea Theodore Roosevelt makes "for the preservation of our forests and of the wild things that dwell therein for the benefit and

enjoyment of the public and for wise legislation towards that end, and its strict enforcement." The book "made" *The New York Times* (May 31, 1902) and was stated by Dr. Livingston Farrand to be the best work on this subject (cf. his *Basis of American History* (1904), p. 276).

A Note on the Irish Theatre | By | Theodore Roosevelt | and |
An "Interview" on | *the Irish Players in America* | By | George
 Bernard Shaw | [Publisher's monogram, MK, in circle] |
 Mitchell Kennerley | New York | 1912. 26p. 12° (8" x
 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "). Title within double box. Printed on one side of the
 page. Issued unbound and uncut as page proof of a proposed
 booklet, stapled together at upper left-hand corner.

The first and only edition consisted of twenty copies issued in the form of printer's page proof, all of which were sent by Mr. Kennerley to Mr. John Quinn, the great patron of Irish literature. A venture was under way to publish an edition of 500 copies, but according to a letter from Mr. Kennerley accompanying a copy sold at The Anderson Galleries in 1938, the plan was abandoned and the type distributed. It was probably planned by Mr. Quinn, whose name, though crossed off with pen in the copies so far traced, appears as the author of the introductory *Note* both in the *Contents* and at the end of the *Note*, p. 7. It seems probable that he originally intended to have the pamphlet appear under his name, that he later decided to have it appear anonymously and still later abandoned the work altogether.

Theodore Roosevelt's contribution *The Irish Theatre* was here reprinted from the *Outlook*, December 16, 1911. The Shaw *Interview* first appeared in the *New York Sun*.

Pre-first Editions

Pre-firsts, under which heading I make mention of review copies and press release copies, would assuredly not come under

the classification of limited editions. But I will mention two "review copies" which are included in the Harvard Roosevelt Collection. They were both issued unbound. In the case of *Fear God and Take your own Part*, no textual differences have been established between it and the regular first edition. The outside of the back wrapper has printed thereon: "Advance Copy," and blue pencilled beneath are the words: "Published February 10th, 1916." In the case of his *Diaries of Boyhood and Youth*, the review copy lacks all the plates and foot-notes.

Speeches

The Roosevelt Collection has a considerable number of press release copies, chiefly of Theodore Roosevelt's speeches. A few of these are of particular interest.

Rarities among Theodore Roosevelt's printed speeches should logically have come earlier in this paper, under Ephemera. Ordinarily they would not be published in limited editions, but rather in large quantities for wide distribution. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. Certain addresses were printed at the Government Printing Office for the personal use of the President, and these may legitimately be mentioned here as rarities. These were issued in wrappers of various colors, with the title repeated on the front cover. They were octavo in size, some 8" x 5" and some 9" x 6" approximately, printed on laid paper in large type, with the type lines either double or triple spaced. The first of this series was President Theodore Roosevelt's first message to Congress, issued in this case in both dark red and dark green linen, and dated at the White House, December 3, 1901. The last one for which we have any information was his address at the Corcoran Art Gallery at the Saint Gaudens exhibition, December 15, 1908.

The collecting of speeches of Theodore Roosevelt is a giant task, so we merely list a scattering of desiderata—a handful of "hard-to-gets," with a few excursions afield when the occasion seems of sufficient interest. For clarity, they are arranged chron-

ologically: *Speeches on Municipal Reform* (1884); *Remarks on the Prohibitory Traffic Bill* (1884); *True Americanism, Address before the Marquette Club, Chicago* (1890); *The Duties of American Citizenship, Address before the Liberal Club, Buffalo* (1893); *Address before the Roosevelt-Keane Mass Meeting, Buffalo* (1895); *Americanism in Municipal Politics, Address before the Liberal Club, Buffalo* (1895); *Address before the New York Preachers' Meeting* (1896); *The Strenuous Life, Appomattox Day Banquet of the Hamilton Club, Chicago* (1899); *Address of Governor Theodore Roosevelt before the Convention of the National Guard Association of the State of New York* (1900); *The Valley Forge Address* (1904) published in Norristown in 1909; *American Boy, Address at Friends' School, Washington* (1907); *Abraham Lincoln, Address at the Lincoln Birthplace, Hodgenville, Kentucky*, (1909).

There are two desirable variants of the Lincoln address. The first is a broadside privately printed for the author and editor by *Collier's Weekly*. Although a somewhat similar broadside was inserted as a supplement in the issue of February 13, 1909, the privately printed issue varies in size and paper stock, being printed with different type and on a heavier cream paper; the border also is printed in four colors instead of yellow and white, as is the supplement. The second *Collier's Weekly* also published in an eleven-page brochure "Compliments of E. C. Patterson, Manager Advertising Department."

We might here mention the "press release" copies of speeches. The Roosevelt Collection boasts quite a number of these, from President Roosevelt's inaugural address of March 4, 1905, to his special message transmitting the report of the National Conservation Commission on January 22, 1909. They are all printed on cheap paper on one side of the page and all bear the warning, "Confidential, not to be published until its reading," or words to that effect, and bearing a number, usually. Just what the significance of the numbering may be is a mystery. We have, for instance, a record of two press release copies of Colonel Roosevelt's

Oxford University address, entitled *Biological Analogies in History* — nos. 720 and 519, and both bearing the same warning in precisely the same words.

Quite dramatically, the confidence asked of the press was justified in this case. The release set the date of delivery of the speech for May 18, 1910, but it so happened that the death of King Edward VII in May necessitated a postponement. Press release no. 519 has been corrected by hand to read "until delivered," with the date May 18 crossed off. An autograph note has been added below "Lecture has been postponed owing King Edward's death. Hold for release." It is probable that this edition was printed before the author left for Africa in 1909, and distributed to the press at that time, for it is known that the addresses to be delivered in Europe on his return from Africa were written and copies sent to Europe before Colonel Roosevelt's departure from New York on March 23, 1909. *Biological Analogies* was delivered on June 7 and was published simultaneously both in blue wrappers and in cloth, in Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, and in the United States by the American branch of the Oxford University Press.

Press release copies of Colonel Roosevelt's Sorbonne address *Citizenship in a Republic* and of his Berlin address *World Movement* are among the holdings of the Roosevelt Collection at Harvard.

Before leaving the discussion of speeches, I wish to describe two very interesting items, issued only with foreign imprints and from as widely separated places as Nairobi, British East Africa and The Hague. Both are excessively rare.

The Truth about | British East Africa. | [rule] | Being a speech delivered by | The Hon. Col. Theodore Roosevelt | at Nairobi, | August, 3rd, 1909. | [rule] | Reprinted from "The Leader of British East Africa." | 5p. 8° (9¾" x 6¼"). Verso

CONFIDENTIAL

To be held in confidence, and no portion, synopsis, or intimation to be published or given out ~~until~~ *until* ~~after twelve o'clock noon; Eastern (New York) time, on the day of delivery.~~ While this lecture ~~is scheduled for May 18, 1910, some contingency may arise to prevent its delivery on that date; and extreme care must therefore be exercised to avoid premature publication.~~

delivered

No 519

BIOLOGICAL ANALOGIES IN HISTORY

A LECTURE BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY, ENGLAND

MAY 18, 1910

Lecture has been postponed
owing King Edwards death.
held for release

THE TRUTH ABOUT BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

BEING A SPEECH DELIVERED BY
The Hon. Col. Theodore Roosevelt
AT NAIROBI,
August, 3rd, 1909.

REPRINTED FROM "THE LEADER OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA."

of page 5 contains a statement: [rule] | Printed at the "Leader" Press, | Nairobi, | British East Africa. | [rule]. Printed in double columns on news-print paper.

At Nairobi, on August 3rd, 1909, a dinner was given to Colonel Roosevelt by a group of British colonial settlers, who for the previous ten years had sacrificed much and striven manfully to develop the many rich resources of British East Africa. Newspaper reporters must have covered the occasion and, judging by the imprint, the text of this separately printed version of Colonel Roosevelt's speech was taken from the account in the *Leader of British East Africa*. The *Leader's* "Preface to the Reader" suggests that the speech

will be found intrinsically worthy of perusal, and of interest to all those who desire to learn the truth of this oft-discussed region. It may serve to correct some of the rather misleading descriptions which tend to detract from its unqualified claim as being perfectly fit for white colonization. . . . Nairobi, August 8th, 1909.

The East African Standard for August 7, 1909, also carried an account of the dinner, with rather lengthy excerpts from the address in question, or so at any rate states Edgar Beecher Bronson of Manhattan, in an unidentified clipping in the Roosevelt collection. Quoting Mr. Bronson:

To the best of my knowledge this remarkable speech was never published at home. Spoken the other side of the world, addressed to an audience so small and so remotely isolated from all great centers of civilization that none could dream it could attain more than local currency and effect, the lofty sentiments, the broad statesmanship, the comprehensive, sound advice of the widely experienced and highly trained executive that characterize this speech from its beginning to its end, seem to me to paint Theodore Roosevelt au naturel, to constitute, in a way, a confession of his profound faith in humanity, an expression of the ever prophetic vision that has kept him riding easily ahead of his fellows the rough seas of industrial, social and political evolution . . .

Only three copies of the separately published edition of *The Truth about British East Africa* are known at present: two copies (in bluish-gray wrappers and in olive-green) are in the Harvard

Roosevelt Collection. One was a gift of Warrington Dawson who owns the third copy. (Mr. Dawson covered Theodore Roosevelt's African trip for the United Press.)

Sayings [in red] | of | *Social Wisdom* | By | Theodore Roosevelt | Late-President of the U. S. of America | Together with an | *Address* [in red] | to the | *Dutch*, | *his Kinsfolk* | Delivered in Amsterdam on the 29th April 1910. | [rule] | Published at The Hague | By W. P. Van Stockum en Zoon. | 1910. 36p. 18° (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ "). Colophon (following p. 36): Printed on the Press of Messrs. Mouton & Co. | The Hague —Holland | on the 2nd of May 1910. Issued in gray ribbed cloth, with bevelled edges and rounded corners, lettered in gold on side, within elaborate floral ornamental border in black.

Mr. W. J. Crawford of Cleveland has a copy of a scarce pamphlet: *Mr. Roosevelt in Amsterdam*; with a preface by Mr. Charles Boissevain, director of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* published by Meulenhoff & Co. in Amsterdam. In this, Mr. Boissevain recounts the circumstances under which Roosevelt delivered this improvised address to the citizens of Amsterdam.

It was in the railway train which brought him to Amsterdam on April 29th, 1910, that Mr. Roosevelt decided to address his "kinsmen." We of the "Handelsblad" had invited him to do so, but he had excused himself owing to the very short time at his disposal and because he did not know our language. But that morning we had offered him in our paper in English a hearty welcome amongst us. As Mr. Roosevelt read this on the train, he asked the American Minister, the Hon. Beaupré, who accompanied him, to telegraph us from Arnhem: "Mr. Roosevelt will address meeting" . . .

Mr. Roosevelt in Amsterdam includes the text of the Handelsblad article to which Mr. Boissevain alludes *Mr. Roosevelt, Welcome Home* and the text of Roosevelt's address. The publishers of *Sayings of Social Wisdom* give due credit to the *Algemeen Handels-*

SAYINGS
OF
SOCIAL WISDOM
BY
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
late-president of the U. S. of America
together with an
ADDRESS
TO THE
DUTCH,
HIS KINSFOLK

delivered in Amsterdam on the 29th April 1910.

PUBLISHED AT THE HAGUE
BY W. P. VAN STOCKUM EN ZON.
1910.

blad when in a note they "express their appreciation to the editor for the prompt and complete verbatim report of Mr. Roosevelt's address, which at once enabled them to cast it in this special and more lasting form." It was first published in the *Handelsblad* for April 30, 1910.

The text of the *Sayings of Social Wisdom* consists of Roosevelt's address in the church of the "Vrije Gemeente" Amsterdam, April 29th, 1910, followed by excerpts from the same prefixed by a half-title: *Sayings of Social Wisdom, (forming the final words of Mr. Roosevelt's address.)*

As far as the resources of the Harvard Roosevelt Collection reveal, this is the only separate edition of the Amsterdam address. Aside from the newspaper version, and the text as above mentioned appearing in *Mr. Roosevelt in Amsterdam*,* it has only appeared once elsewhere, in: *With Roosevelt through Holland* by M. J. Brusse, copyrighted in 1911 by the Holland American Line.

Only two copies are now known — one in the Roosevelt Collection and one in the personal library of the late Kermit Roosevelt.

Posthumously Published Articles

Who should | go West? [orn.] | Theodore Roosevelt | [orn.] |
New York | Privately printed | 1927. [iv], 9p. 8° (8" x 5").

In 1927, Merle Johnson commissioned the Harbor Press of New York to issue this title by Theodore Roosevelt, a reprint from *Harper's Weekly* XXX:7 (January 2, 1886). An introduction was contributed by R. W. G. Vail. The little brochure was attractively printed, and bound in brown spider-web pattern boards, with a brown paper label in black ink, within ornamental borders, on side reading: *Who should go West? [orn.] Theodore Roosevelt.* This first edition consisted of seventy-three copies printed and sold for \$5.00 per copy.

* At the reading of this paper Mr. R. W. G. Vail reported that during the week he had purchased for The New York Historical Society a copy of this pamphlet for so trifling a sum as to be unmentionable.

Let us quote from Mr. Vail's introductory remarks:

When Theodore Roosevelt wrote the article which is reprinted here for the first time . . . his *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* had just been published and he was at work on a series of hunting articles for *Outing* and was soon to write another series on ranching and hunting for the *Century*. He was considered the principal spokesman and historian of the cowboy, the chief interpreter of nature and the wild life of the West. . . .

It is an excellent example of Roosevelt's honest, straightforward manner of thinking and writing, and, now that the life he pictures is gone forever . . . it is well worth preserving in its present form.

Who should go West? . . . does not appear in any of its author's books or in any of the collected editions of his writings which have so far been compiled. Aside from its serial publication, it is therefore a first edition in its present form and as such should have a special appeal for those who admire its author and the pioneer life which he, better than anyone else, knew how to describe.

Following his publishing venture of 1927 when he issued the limited first edition of Roosevelt's *Who Should go West?*, Merle Johnson again (1929) discovered a timely article and caused to be published Theodore Roosevelt's *Value of an Athletic Training*. When the original article was published in *Harper's Weekly*, XXXVII:1236 (December 23, 1893), controversies were rife in regard to college athletics—which some considered quite unnecessary and even dangerous. R. W. G. Vail again contributed a few introductory remarks.

In the long forgotten article which is here printed for the first time in book form, he tells in clear and vigorous fashion the value of athletic sports in the development of the student. And what he said 35 years ago when he was but 35 years of age is just as true as when he wrote it. . . . He believed that a well-trained mind could only be of greatest service when housed in a healthy, alert and well-trained body.

Mr. Johnson had his brochure published at the Harvard Press, a small New York shop. It was issued in gray wrappers, lettered in black on side: *Value of | an [2 leaf orns.] | Athletic | Training |* By Theodore | Roosevelt. 12p. 16° (63/8" x 4 1/2"). All edges uncut, back wrapper folds in as a flap. Wrappers surrounded by secondary wrapper of ribbed tissue. A hitherto unknown and un-

published photograph of "Theodore Roosevelt in boxing costume during his undergraduate days at Harvard University" was used as frontispiece.

The edition was limited to an issue of seventy-three copies and sold at \$6.00 per copy. A large part of the edition was ordered before publication, by Mr. W. J. Crawford, Jr., of Cleveland, Ohio, for use as a Christmas remembrance.

Perhaps the collector will see from this paper that he does not have to pursue Dickens or Kipling, Irving or Mark Twain in order to find the elusive rarities which make the chase worth while. The gathering of a complete set of the first editions of Theodore Roosevelt is the work of a lifetime and, besides, his writings are varied, colorful and readable. No American since Franklin and Lincoln was so typical of his generation and few have contributed so much to the welfare of their country.

The Greatest Rarities.

- 1 copy known. *Murder on the High Seas*. Broadside copy-right edition.
- 1 copy known. *In Memory of my Darling Wife*.
- 2 copies known. *Sayings of Social Wisdom*.
- 2 copies known. *By-laws of the Little Missouri River Stockmen's Association*.
- 3 copies known. *The Truth about British East Africa*.
- 4 copies known. *Some American Game*.
- 10 copies known. *Naval Operations of the War between Great Britain and the United States, 1812-1815*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1901).
- 10? copies known. *Summer Birds of the Adirondacks*.
- 13? copies known. *Birds of Oyster Bay*.
- ? copies known. *Birds of the White House Grounds*.

David Ramsay's Publication Problems 1784-1808

By ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE

THE story of American historiography has been mainly an account of the way in which historians have used their materials and interpreted their facts. There is another aspect of this field of writing which is also a significant part of the story—the relations of authors with their publishers, the methods of placing their works on sale, and the financial risks which publication entailed. For the period immediately following the close of the American Revolution these problems are amply illustrated in the publication of two well-known works by David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina* which appeared in 1785 and *The History of the American Revolution* which was first issued four years later.¹

Although David Ramsay was a professional physician, he devoted his spare time to politics and history. He was born in 1749 in the back-country of Pennsylvania, received his college education at Princeton, and completed his medical training at the College of Philadelphia in 1773. It was at this time that he formed a lasting friendship with Benjamin Rush, one of the teachers at the Philadelphia institution. In 1774 Ramsay went to Charleston, South Carolina, where he soon established himself as a reputable physician and was elected to various public offices. In 1782-1783 and again in 1785-1786 he was a delegate to Congress from his

¹ Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1785. 2 volumes; Philadelphia, Robert Aitken, 1789. 2 volumes.

adopted state. This activity in the public affairs of state and nation was one of the motives which stimulated him to write a serious account of contemporary events.²

Ramsay's ambition to record the story of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina first took form while he chafed in confinement as a British prisoner in Saint Augustine, Florida, in 1780 and 1781. Thus in the darkest days of the conflict he resolved to recount the story of the American triumph which he considered inevitable. Upon his release he utilized his leisure hours to collect the materials. In 1782 he was at work reading the correspondence of General Nathanael Greene, but what use he made of this material is not altogether clear. As a delegate to Congress in 1782 and 1783 he gained access to the numerous and important documents of that body, which he was able to investigate expeditiously because Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, had them so well arranged. Ramsay was also in contact with William Gordon who was likewise at work on an account of the American war.³

After three years of labor Ramsay completed his manuscript in August, 1784. This was at least the second draft, for the signing of the peace treaty caused him to rewrite the story on a larger scale. But apparently his manuscript was open to additions at any time, for although he declared that it was ready for the printer he asked Benjamin Rush to supply sketches and anecdotes of Generals Lee, Lincoln, Gates, Greene, and Colonel John Laurens.⁴

² There is no adequate biography of Ramsay. The following brief accounts are useful: [Robert Y. Hayne], *Biographical Memoir of David Ramsay, M.D.*, in: *The Analectic Magazine*, VI:204-224 (1815); R. L. Meriwether's sketch in: *The Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1928-1944. XV:338-339; and Carnes Weeks, *David Ramsay, Physician, Patriot and Historian*, in: *Annals of Medical History*, n.s., I:600-607 (September, 1929).

³ Ramsay to Captain Pendleton, November 22, 1782, in: *The Historical Magazine, and Notes & Queries*, 2nd series, III:26 (1868); to Thomas Jefferson, June 15, 1785, Jefferson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as Library of Congress). William Gordon to George Washington, February 26, 1783, in: *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXIII:484-485 (1931).

⁴ To Benjamin Rush, August 16, 1784, Benjamin Rush Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia (hereafter abbreviated to LCP). The preface of the book, p. xi, bears the date October 12, 1784.

Ramsay now faced the problem of publication. His book was no small undertaking; the manuscript amounted to six hundred pages quarto. He could have used the subscription plan but he considered it undignified, for he later declared that he had avoided this method "from principles of delicacy perhaps excessive." He resolved to risk the entire cost of publication out of his own pocket without an advance guarantee of sales.⁵

Should he entrust his work to an American or an English printer? This question kept him in a state of uncertainty for several months. In August, 1784, he was inclined to favor Philadelphia largely on the basis of patriotism. "The accuracy of a London printer would make me less concerned about my own inaccuracies," he declared, "& yet I hate to be beholden to our late enemies." Patriotism or no patriotism, convenience pointed to an English printer. There was the possibility that Dr. Witherspoon, his father-in-law, who was then in London could supervise the printing if it were done there.⁶ Apparently Ramsay had decided on this plan, for in September he informed a relative, "I shall send it to London by the first opportunity that presents. . . . I hope to have it back in America next summer neatly printed & finished for one half less than it would cost in this country & done twice as well."⁷ But by the early months of 1785 he abandoned his plans for printing in England, probably because Dr. Witherspoon had returned to America, and he arranged to have Isaac Collins, of Trenton, New Jersey, strike off the work. The printing was done in instalments and dragged out through the rest of the year, mainly because Collins could turn out no more than forty pages a week. The printing was completed on December 7, 1785.⁸

At the last moment an unforeseen obstacle delayed the appear-

⁵ To Thomas Jefferson, June 11, 1785, Library of Congress.

⁶ To Benjamin Rush, August 16, 1784, LCP.

⁷ To Charles Willson Peale, September 27, 1784, New York Academy of Medicine.

⁸ To Thomas Jefferson, June 15, December 10, 1785, Library of Congress; to Benjamin Rush, December 14, 1784, LCP.

ance of the book. Collins had agreed to bind a number of the volumes at the rate of two shillings five pence each. Then in the summer of 1785 Robert Aitken, Philadelphia printer, offered to bind several hundred volumes at the same price, "each volume to be executed in neat plain binding[,] gilt on the back & lettered. The execution was to be equal to Belknaps history of New Hampshire." Ramsay engaged Aitken to bind three hundred copies, but suddenly in December Aitken confessed that he could not complete the job expeditiously. He explained that his journeyman had "left me in one of his frolics," and his only other assistant was a lad not competent to handle the whole task of binding. Realizing that the impatient author would not wait until another journeyman could be secured, Aitken tried to find workmen who would do the job, "other live young men just begun Business," but they were unwilling to undertake it at Ramsay's price. With this distressing news Ramsay appealed to Benjamin Rush to straighten out matters in Philadelphia. Eventually Aitken arranged with Patton and Company to complete the binding at the original price of two shillings five pence a volume.⁹

Long before the book was issued Ramsay worried over the financial outcome of his venture. As the sheets came from the press in instalments, he saw his expenses mount alarmingly. There were the costs for printing and binding, for the engraving of maps which alone came to almost \$800, and for the freight charges of sending copies from printer to binder. To place the book on sale in the United States and England he foresaw an additional outlay for freight and advertising. In his earlier optimism he had ordered thirty-two hundred copies run off by the printer. In the summer of 1785 he estimated that he must sell nine hundred copies at four dollars each to meet "the expenses of the impression." But six months later he had become more deeply involved. "The sale of five hundred copies," he declared early in

⁹ Aitken to Ramsay, December 26, 1785; Ramsay to Rush, December 29, 1785; Aitken's Waste Book, p. 442, LCP.

1786, "is necessary to reimburse my actual advances & seven hundred more must be sold before my contracts can be discharged which I have entered into in order to complete the work."¹⁰

Although the actual printing had not been completed until December, 1785, and the work of binding was delayed, Ramsay impatiently complained late in January, 1786, that in spite of advance advertising the sale of the book was disappointing and far short of meeting his expenses. He was optimistic indeed to expect large sales within a few weeks of the appearance of the volume. Nor was his gloom dispelled when Aitken informed him early in February that only four copies had been sold in Philadelphia. He cried out that conditions should be such "that an author may be on at least a footing equal to a taylor or shoemaker."¹¹

Ramsay attempted to place *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina* on sale in the widest possible market. He relied on his friend John Eliot to handle the sales in the New England region. When he asked Eliot in January, 1786, how many copies to send, he realized that the demand would be small because the story was limited to the Southern states. But he believed nevertheless that since his work was the first published account of the war it should excite general interest. He sent a small consignment of bound and unbound copies to Boston with careful instructions to Eliot not to advertise more than the title-page in the newspapers. Editors had a habit of publishing lengthy extracts from a new book, and Ramsay feared that practice might discourage the public from buying his work.¹²

There were numerous hindrances to the wide sale of the book in the North. John Eliot believed that New Englanders would manifest small interest in an account of only the Southern phase

¹⁰ To John Eliot, March 13, 1786, Massachusetts Historical Society; to Benjamin Rush, December 14, 1785, January 29, 1786, LCP; to Thomas Jefferson, July 13, 1785, Library of Congress.

¹¹ To Benjamin Rush, January 29, April 12, 1786, LCP.

¹² To John Eliot, January 18, March 13, May 1, 1786, Massachusetts Historical Society.

of the war. In his opinion also the price of four dollars for the two volumes was entirely too high, and, moreover, money was scarce in the early days of 1786. But the chief obstacle was the competition of William Gordon who was compiling a history of the Revolution. Although Gordon had not completed his book, he had already gone about selling subscriptions for it in the most aggressive manner. "Gordon is in the zenith of subscription glory," explained Eliot. "He offers his proposals [to prospective customers] & then a printed receipt for 20/. Who can help giving it? You must fight at least against his countenance. I guess he will carry 1000 sub[scription]s from America,—1000£." With unusual optimism Ramsay allowed only two months to pass before inquiring anxiously of Eliot how much money he had received from the sale of the book. The reply has not been found but it can be assumed that it was not encouraging. A year later Ramsay explained to Eliot, "I assigned over to Aitken the whole money that should arise from the sales in Boston, Maryland, Virginia & Philadelphia to pay him for binding. If any money came into your hands please to transmit it to him. I am the loser to the amount of many hundred dollars by the publication; but I am not discouraged. . . ."¹³

If "the infant state of literature in America" was responsible for the small demand of the book, Ramsay saw nothing to prevent him from tapping the potential market in Europe. In fact he hoped that the sales abroad might mean the difference between profit and loss on the venture. As soon as the last sheets came from the printer in December, 1785, he hurriedly dispatched sixteen hundred copies to Charles Dilly, London publisher, for distribution in England. He was convinced that the sooner the books arrived the better would be his chances of forestalling a pirated edition in the British Isles.¹⁴

¹³ John Eliot to Jeremy Belknap, February 8, March 15, 1786, in: *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 6th series, IV:309, 311 (1891). Ramsay to Eliot, March 13, May 1, 1786, April 20, 1787, *Massachusetts Historical Society*.

¹⁴ [To John Witherspoon], January 9, 1785, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*; to Thomas Jefferson, December 10, 1785, *Library of Congress*; to Benjamin Rush, December 14, 1785, *LCP*.

But *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina* was destined to meet with serious obstacles in England. Dilly had premonitions of trouble even before he had received the volumes, for he predicted that "If the writer discovers too much warmth and the History is tinctured in prejudice of Party that circumstance will ruin the sale of the Books" in London. His fears were realized. On examining the work he found that Ramsay had been too free in naming names and citing charges against army officers who still enjoyed the esteem of the British public. Dilly discreetly obtained legal advice and concluded that if he issued the work he would expose himself to attacks by the Crown lawyers and perhaps be subjected to personal violence at the hands of the mob. The troublesome passages comprised eighteen pages which contained comments on the Declaration of Independence, Drayton's charges against the king, and Ramsay's account of the plundering and inhumanity of Cornwallis, Rawdon, Moncrief, Brown, Tarleton, and others.¹⁵ As a last resort Dilly employed Dr. Bancroft to revise the most objectionable passages with a view to reprinting the eighteen pages. But even then his legal counsel advised against it. "... the spirit of too many is yet high against America, and it must be dangerous indeed, to publish a just, spirited and faithful delineation of the American tragedy, while so many principal actors in it are alive."¹⁶ Although Dilly personally approved the history, he could take no chances with an expensive lawsuit. So he sold

¹⁵ In the history Lord Rawdon is discussed, II:132-135, 250; Cornwallis, pp. 157-159; Tarleton, pp. 109-110, 160, 215; Moncrief, p. 384; Brown, pp. 237-240; for other British officers portrayed in an unfavorable light, see pp. 135, 141-142, 179, 194, 282; for general charges of plundering and violence, pp. 142-144, 156, 166-167. In the *Columbian Magazine*, Philadelphia, September, 1786, p. 24, a book reviewer predicted that Ramsay's treatment of Lord Rawdon would debar the sale of the work in England. An English reviewer, writing in *The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal*, London, 1788, LXXVIII:289-294, considered the book "a candid and intelligent narrative," but he believed that some British names were "treated with great freedom," and he could not accept Ramsay's account of the American Whigs and Tories.

¹⁶ Unsigned letter in *The Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, August 3, 1786, "from a gentleman of literary eminence in London." The writer was doubtless Dr. Bancroft.

some of the sets privately, shipped a quantity to Holland, and asked the author how to dispose of the rest.¹⁷

Thomas Jefferson, then serving as American minister to France, was aroused by the whole affair. On learning that Dr. Bancroft was about to alter the work in order "to accommodate it to the English palate and pride," he hurriedly wrote to London to prevent any changes until the author's consent could be obtained. "I should be sorry," Jefferson wrote later to Ramsay, "that any circumstance should occasion the disguising those truths which it equally seems our honor and the just infamy of our enemies to have handed down to posterity in their true light."¹⁸

If London booksellers were afraid to circulate the work, Jefferson was determined to make it available to any Englishman who wished to buy it. He wrote out an advertisement for insertion in English newspapers explaining that since Ramsay's book could not be sold in London, readers might secure copies by ordering them from Paris; carriage charges would not exceed six pence. At the same time he instructed Dilly to send fifty unbound volumes to Paris. Dilly was sympathetic to the proposal but he would take no chances. He refused to allow the advertisement to appear in the English newspapers until the first shipment of books was well on its way across the Channel. Although the whole scheme was devised and carried out by Jefferson before he could obtain Ramsay's approval, Ramsay was grateful that the Virginian showed such keen interest in distributing his work. The conclusion of this episode is brief. At the end of two years no more than nine of the fifty copies had been sold in Paris.¹⁹

¹⁷ Jefferson to Ramsay, July 10, 1786, Library of Congress. Dilly to Rush, February 1, May 5, 1786, LCP.

¹⁸ Jefferson to William Smith, July 9, 1786, in: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Lipscomb ed.) 1902-1903. XVIII: 183-184; to Ramsay, July 10, 1786, Library of Congress.

¹⁹ William Smith to Jefferson, July 18, 1786, in: *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 7th series, I: 22. Ramsay to Jefferson, November 8, 1786; Jefferson to Ramsay, May 7, 1788, Library of Congress. In a letter to Jedidiah Morse, November 30, 1787, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ramsay intimates that he made an arrangement with Stockdale for the sale of the history in London. This is confirmed by *The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal*, London, 1788, LXXVIII: 289, which

Americans resented the ban on the sale of the history in England, for they believed that the English were afraid to face the unpleasant facts in the story. The incident was common knowledge in the United States, and it stirred the young poet Philip Freneau to memorialize the affair in a poem which appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper. Freneau voiced his feelings in these words:

* * *

So the British, worn out with their wars in the west
(Where burning and murder their prowess confessed)
When, at last, they agreed 'twas in vain to contend
(For the days of their thieving were come to an end)
They hired some historians to scribble and flatter,
And foolishly thought they could hush up the matter.

But Ramsay arose, and with Truth on his side,
Has told the world what they laboured to hide;
With his pen of dissection, and pointed with steel,
If they ne'er before felt he has taught them to feel,
Themselves and their projects has truly defined,
And dragged them to blush at the bar of mankind.

As the author, his friends, and the world might expect,
They find that the work has a damning effect —
In reply to his Facts they abuse him and rail,
And prompted by malice, prohibit the sale.

But, we trust, their chastisement is only begun;
Thirteen are the States — and he writes of but one;
Ere the twelve that are silent their story have told.
The king will run mad, and the book will be sold.²⁰

Although England banned the sale of *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, Ramsay was confident that France would

notes that the book was distributed by Stockdale in London. Ramsay also hoped that he might be able to introduce copies into Ireland; to Jefferson, November 8, 1786, Library of Congress.

²⁰ *On the Legislature of Great-Britain Prohibiting the Sale, in London, of Doctor David Ramsay's History of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina.* The poem can be found in Fred L. Pattee, ed., *The Poems of Philip Freneau, Poet of the Revolution*, Princeton, 1902-1907, II: 312-313. With a slightly different title it appeared in *The American Museum*, Philadelphia, 1787, I, no. 2; *The American Museum*, I, nos. II-VI was reprinted in 1788 (Evans 20929); a 3d ed. of no. II alone reprinted in 1793 (Evans 25100).

prove receptive to the work in translation. Long before the last sheets had come from Collins's press, he inquired of friends about the wisdom of a French edition. He believed that several strong reasons dictated this course of action. In the first place, it was necessary to forestall a pirated edition from which he could gain no profit and which might undersell the American edition. "I therefore propose to be aforehand with them," he explained to Jefferson in June, 1785, "& if any advantage [*i. e.* profit] is to be made of the work in Europe I think myself entitled to it to a piratical printer." But more than that the subject matter of the book had much to recommend it to European readers. "The importance of the materials of my work," he declared, "the circumstance of its being the first of its kind together with the prepossession the public will have for an history of the late revolution written by a member of Congress will introduce it notwithstanding its imperfections under favorable circumstances to the public." And, finally, our former Gallic allies would enjoy his treatment of them in the work. "The French nation will have no reason to dislike it," he reasoned, "as it contains many things to their credit & much to the dishonor of the British. . . ." But he realized that in rendering the work into French the local aspects of the story should be omitted, and in this way the text could be reduced to one volume. His suggestions on this head were sound but unfortunately they were not followed.²¹

Arrangements for the French edition were made under favorable circumstances. In the summer of 1785 Ramsay approached the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, French consul general in New York, who not only approved the idea but sent a copy of the work to the Marquis de Chastellux with a recommendation for its translation and publication if Chastellux considered it advisable. Ramsay also enlisted the aid of Thomas Jefferson whom he asked to act in conjunction with the Marquis in France. But at the critical moment Jefferson was unable to get in touch with Chastellux, and

²¹ To Jefferson, June 15, 1785, Library of Congress.

it appears that the Frenchman had little to do with the project except in an incidental way. Jefferson showed great interest in the work and eventually handled all the details of the French edition.²²

Jefferson had assumed an unenviable task. He was forced to report that any translation he might arrange for would not preclude some other printer from doing the same thing. He also experienced considerable difficulty in finding a printer who would take the work on terms favorable to Ramsay. One bookseller who was willing to undertake the work would grant the author only forty guineas, to be paid as the book sold. Jefferson rejected this proposal but six weeks later he considered an offer of nine hundred livres, payable one year after the book had been put on sale. On Chastellux's suggestion Jefferson accepted this arrangement and explained to Ramsay that he could expect no more for only a translation of his work. To increase troubles the sheets of the American edition, which were necessary before a translation could be completed, were sent in parts and some of the parts failed to reach Paris for some time.²³

Misfortune continued to dog the publication in France. After nine months Jefferson reported that "the translation and printing go on slowly. I do not think they are half finished." This delayed the time when Ramsay could expect some profits from his book. Jefferson added that Chastellux considered the book well translated.²⁴ A year later Jefferson reported optimistically that the "book sells well, and is universally approved." At once Ramsay began to dream of financial returns. In 1788 when he sent his

²² To Jefferson, July 13, 1785; Jefferson to Ramsay, August 31, 1785; Library of Congress. On learning that the English edition might be censored, Jefferson remarked of the French translation, "There will be no glutting in that. All Europe will read the English transactions in America as they really happened." Jefferson to William S. Smith, July 9, 1786, in: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Lipscomb ed.), XVIII:183-184.

²³ Jefferson to Ramsay, August 31, October 12, 1785; January 26, 1786; Library of Congress.

²⁴ It appeared as *Histoire de la révolution d'Amérique, par rapport à la Caroline meridionale*. A Londres et se trouve à Paris, chez Froullé, 1787, two volumes.

nephew to Europe to continue medical studies he instructed him to stop at Paris and collect any money accruing from the sale of the work.²⁵

In spite of the encouraging reports the translation of the history was not a marked financial success. There were several reasons for this. One was the fact that the book contained details of little interest to foreign readers. Although Ramsay had foreseen this objection and had sent specific instructions for a reduction of the text, the translator persuaded the printer that the public would not be satisfied with an abridged version. The printer yielded and published the whole work in two volumes. This increased the expense and cut down the sales. As a result the printer lost about two thousand livres. There was also another factor. In spite of Chastellux's early praise of the French rendering, Jefferson later referred to "the inelegance of the translation" as one of the obstacles to the popularity of the book. And finally, the printer wished to withdraw from the original terms of the contract.²⁶

The French edition netted Ramsay 936 livres. But Froullé, the printer, complained of his own losses on the venture and asked Ramsay to collect the money in the form of books from Froullé's shop. Jefferson saw objections to this arrangement and warned Ramsay that he need not consent to the proposed terms but had a perfect right to insist on cash. Hard pressed by his failure to clear expenses on his work in America or England, Ramsay demanded the money which amounted to \$133 1/3.²⁷

Ramsay did not wait to gauge the popularity of his book on South Carolina. He plunged at once into the preparation of another work. The new project covered the broader field of the history of the whole American Revolution. He gathered his facts

²⁵ Jefferson to Ramsay, July 10, 1786, Library of Congress; to Ramsay, August 4, 1786, in: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Lipscomb ed.), VI:225-227. Ramsay to Jefferson, March 7, 1788, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Jefferson to Ramsay, May 7, 1788, Library of Congress; to William Gordon, July 16, 1788, in: *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Lipscomb ed.), VII:66-67.

²⁷ Jefferson to Ramsay, May 7, 1788; Ramsay to Jefferson, October 8, 1788; Library of Congress.

from numerous sources of information and submitted the manuscript to various persons for criticism. Although he stated in the preface that he had collected the materials from 1782 to 1786, his personal letters indicate that he concentrated his attention to the task of writing during 1786 and 1787. Early in the following year he explained that the manuscript "is now nearly ready for the Press. I shall await the event of the new constitution. The revolution cannot be said to be compleated till that or something equivalent is established." He delayed the conclusion of the work for another year and a half, for the preface bears the date October 20, 1789.²⁸

With the publication of *The History of the American Revolution* Ramsay experienced a repetition of many of the problems which had beset him in his earlier venture. At first he declared that he would not issue the work until he had secured sufficient subscriptions to insure him against financial loss, but he appears to have abandoned this plan. When Jedidiah Morse informed him that printing could be done cheaply in New Haven, Ramsay eagerly asked for details. He planned an edition of fifteen hundred copies, and he was careful to specify that it must be printed on paper "of the middling kind & the letter one size smaller" than in his previous work. Apparently the news from New Haven was not favorable, for he eventually made proposals to Robert Aitken, the Philadelphian who had bound copies of his first book. Ramsay still admired the superior craftsmanship of English printers, but his patriotism dictated the encouragement of American industry. Doubtless the ban on his first book in England reinforced his nationalistic inclinations. But there was another factor which influenced him. The states were in the process of ratifying the federal Constitution and Ramsay nursed the hope of being elected a representative to the new Congress. In that event he could go to New York to attend Congress and at the same time he could su-

²⁸ Ramsay to Benjamin Rush, April 13, 1786, February 17, 1788, LCP.

pervise the printing of his book. However, this plan came to naught when he failed of election.²⁹

He placed the book on sale by the old method of sending consignments to bookstores in various parts of the United States. But there were pitfalls in the procedure. When he shipped several hundred copies to his friend John Eliot in Massachusetts, he gave specific instructions for marketing them. They were sent in sheets and he asked Eliot to have them bound and placed with a reliable bookseller who would announce the work in the newspapers. The advertisement was to contain only the title-page and was to be run not more than six or seven times. Ramsay gave special caution on this point because some bookdealers ran advertisements for weeks. In one instance when he settled with a shopkeeper for eighteen copies, he had to pay over one-third of the amount for advertising. Moreover, Eliot was warned to keep close watch over the books lest some printer steal a copy. "I shall have a patent next January," explained the author, "& hope a piratical edition cannot be made before that time."³⁰

Ramsay and his printer Aitken did not always see eye to eye. Thirteen hundred copies were issued for sale in the United States at the price of three "silver dollars" for the set. Aitken considered this too high and told Ramsay that two dollars would be more reasonable, but the author would not give in. "I find the price ruinous to the Sales already," complained Aitken, "but it is his Orders." On the other hand, Ramsay had complaints against his printer. He claimed that Aitken had made numerous typographical errors in the work, and when he asked him to include a table of errata the printer refused thus to advertise his faulty craftsmanship. In despair Ramsay asked Eliot to employ someone to

²⁹ To John Eliot, April 20, 1787, January 19, 1788, Massachusetts Historical Society; to Jedidiah Morse, November 30, 1787, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; to Morse, June 19, 1788 (contents summarized in Stan V. Henkels, *Catalogue* 1323, p. 67, item 499); to Rush, September 28, 1788, LCP.

³⁰ To John Eliot, October 19, 1789, Massachusetts Historical Society. This letter was written at Philadelphia where Ramsay had doubtless gone to supervise the printing of the book.

make the corrections by hand in each copy. If a second edition were called for, he determined to get a new printer.³¹

The reception of the book in England was a source of anxiety to the author. Seven months after he had despatched three hundred copies to London, he had not learned whether they had been received. "If my book ever repays me for the trouble it has cost," he complained, "it will not be in America, at least in these Southern States. I am therefore anxious to hear of its reception in England. The printing in this country has required an advance of more money than can reasonably be expected to be reimbursed by the sales for some time." A year after the book had been sent to Massachusetts he was asking Eliot to remit any money received from the sale of copies in New England. Ramsay had not yet received sufficient return to meet the bills of the printer and the papermaker.³²

The issue of pirated editions of the *American Revolution* in the British Isles irked the author. He had been careful to secure an American copyright under the new law of 1789 but this had no effect beyond the seas. Although many copies of the original issue were still in Aitken's hands in 1793 and 1794, Ramsay was helpless when John Stockdale brought forth an edition in London and a Dublin printer did the same in Ireland. As soon as he learned that copies of the Irish edition had been shipped to Boston for sale, he appealed to John Eliot to guard his interests by enforcing the law.³³

It was eighteen years before Ramsay saw fit to prepare a second

³¹ Robert Aitken to [John Eliot], May 3, 1790; Ramsay to Eliot, May 7, 1790; Massachusetts Historical Society. Apparently the edition consisted of a total of sixteen hundred copies.

³² To John Vaughan, May 14, 1790; to Eliot, December 27, 1790; April 13, 1792; Massachusetts Historical Society.

³³ To John Eliot, October 19, 1789; April 12, 1793; March 14, April 22, 1794; Massachusetts Historical Society. In the letter of April 12, 1793, Ramsay reported that Stockdale cited Aitken's blunders in the American edition as one reason for reprinting the work in London. The title-page of the Stockdale edition, in two volumes, London, 1793, carries the words "A New Edition." Ramsay asserted that it was issued without his knowledge or consent.

edition of *The History of the American Revolution*. In 1793 he considered a plan of bringing the work up to date sometime in the future but the unsold copies still in the printer's hands forestalled the idea. Six years later he discussed arrangements for a second edition. "I cannot agree to continue my history down to the present period," he explained. "The contract therefore must be for a corrected edition of the present work. I am willing to take 1500 dollars for the copy right of this for the term of fourteen years. And I will revise and correct the whole." These unattractive terms and the fact that there were still fifty-eight unsold copies in South Carolina (how many more in the other states is not known) apparently dampened the enthusiasm of any prospective printer, for no second edition appeared at this time.³⁴

By 1807 Ramsay had completed the manuscript of an enlarged edition of his work. It included two new chapters, one on the history of the British colonies before the Revolution and the other on events from the close of the war to 1807. He planned to sell it at five dollars for the two volume set. In a manuscript proposal to booksellers he offered three different terms: the purchase of the copyright at not less than two thousand dollars, or the purchase of the right to print two thousand copies, or the subscription of a stated number of copies with a twenty-five per cent discount to any bookdealer taking one hundred copies or more.³⁵ Again, the terms were probably unattractive, for Ramsay never lived to see the second edition in print. It was published posthumously under a new title.³⁶

³⁴ To John Eliot, April 12, 1793, Massachusetts Historical Society; to Jedidiah Morse, April 9, 1799, Roberts Collection, Haverford College. These facts dispose of the claim by [Robert Y. Hayne], *Biographical Memoir of David Ramsay, M.D.*, in *The Analectic Magazine*, VI: 214 (1815), that the first edition was in so great demand that it was soon sold out.

³⁵ To Jedidiah Morse, August 12, 1807; to John Vaughan, October 18, 1807; manuscript proposal to booksellers, endorsed June, 1807; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁶ *The History of the United States from their first Settlements . . . to 1808 . . .*, 1816-1817, two volumes; 2nd ed. rev., Philadelphia, 1818, appeared as the last three volumes of Ramsay's *Universal History Americanized . . .*, Philadelphia, 1819, twelve volumes.

This account of two of David Ramsay's publication ventures, incomplete as it is because so little of his correspondence has come to light, is sufficient to indicate the trials of an author of the post-revolutionary years in making serious historical literature³⁷ available to the public. The quest for a satisfactory printer, the primitive methods of marketing books, the fear of pirated editions, the hazards of foreign translations, and the hope that sales might be sufficient to cover the costs of publication (not to mention the factor of financial return for the labor of writing) — these are some of the neglected problems which must be taken into account in considering the story of historical writing in the early republic.

³⁷ There is no doubt that Ramsay believed that he was writing good history, and during the nineteenth century his works were generally accepted as such. But Orin G. Libby, *Ramsay as a Plagiarist*, in: *American Historical Review*, VII: 697-703 (July 1902) showed how he fell far short of later standards of historical research and writing.

I wish here to acknowledge the generous aid and helpful criticism of Mr. Whitfield Bell, Jr., formerly of Dickinson College, now with the American Field Service.

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Bibliographical Notes

Incunabulum

HIERONYMUS. *Vitae sanctorum, sive Vitae patrum*. [n.p., n.d.]

Literary ghosts have existed through all the centuries of the printed book. These ghosts are references to editions that have never existed. They are found in many of our well-known bibliographies; chiefly due to errors of compilation or printing, to illegible date in imprint, or, especially, to a careless repetition of a previous printed statement without a careful first-hand investigation. Sometimes they are the result of a premeditated intention to deceive, or an attempt to make an imperfect copy into one that would appear complete. George Watson Cole in his *Bibliographical Ghosts* (Bibliographical Society of America. *Papers*. XII:3-28. 1920) gave a careful survey of some Elizabethan ghosts.

We are concerned here with an incunabulum listed in the standard bibliographical series relating to incunabula: Hain-Copinger-Reichling,¹ under their number 8613: Hieronymus. *Vitae sanctorum, sive Vitae patrum* (in Italian) n.p., n.d. The number in Hain has no asterisk, indicating that he did not see a copy; apparently he took his information from Panzer² IV: 209:1285; Panzer cited the Rossi³ catalog, p. 53. Niccolò Rossi (1711-1785) was a noted Italian bibliophile and bibliographer (*Biographie Universelle*, XXXVI:520-521). We must remember that in this case neither Panzer nor Hain give sufficient information to enable one to identify a copy; they only give a title common to all the Italian editions, and a folio without place, date, or printer. I have not seen a copy of the Rossi catalog, but it may not have given any more information than Panzer cited. Copinger cites the Hoepli *Catalog* (Milan, 1891) no. 59, item 161, which gives

¹ Hain, L. F. T. *Repertorium Bibliographicum . . . ad annum MD. . . . Stuttgartiae*, 1826-1838. 4 vols.

Copinger, W. A. *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*. London, 1895-1902. 2 vols. in 3.

Reichling, D. *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum*. Monachii, 1905-1911. 7 pts. Also his: *Supplementum . . .* 1914.

² Panzer, G. W. F. *Annales Typographici . . . ad annum MD*. Norimbergae, 1793-1797. 5 vols.

³ Rossi, Nicolaus. *Catalogus Selectissimae Bibliothecae*. Romae, 1786.

a fair description including some readings, and printed in gothic type, two columns of 60 lines each to a page, 164 leaves with signatures, but no place, date, or printer's name in the incunabulum. Hoepli called it the edition cited by Hain (no. 8613), this apparently being the first time that anyone, other than Hain, called it 8613. Reichling V:139, cites the Jacques Rosenthal copy, and gives a fuller description than Hoepli and Copinger. Reichling gives the important readings line for line, including the "Amen" (which he does not say is in manuscript) as the last word on 158^b; and the signatures: A¹⁰, B-H⁸, I-K⁶, a-k⁸, (2,3)⁶, a total of 164 leaves including leaf [A] a blank. Turning now to the Jacques Rosenthal *Catalogue* no. 24 (Munich, 1900), item 747, and his *Catalogue* no. 40 (Munich, 1906), item 2406, we find the same copy described in each catalog, giving readings line for line, the signatures (as quoted by Reichling), bound in vellum, and noting a miniature initial on the first printed page of the text proper. The Rosenthal description agrees with the copy now in the Huntington Library; his catalogs state that the example described is the only known copy of 8613, and we in our investigations have been unable to locate another copy, since the Hoepli description also agrees with our copy with one exception: an apparent error in stating there is a "FINIS" on 158^b. Our copy is bound in vellum, of the late 18th or early 19th century, with red label on spine lettered: VITE | DE | SANTI | PADRI |, though the label appears to have been removed from another binding. The large initial "S" in gold and colors on the first page of text is noted by both Hoepli and Rosenthal. The volume was acquired by the Huntington Library in an *en bloc* collection in 1926.

Fortunately we were able to compare our copy of the so-called Hain-Copinger-Reichling 8613 with Hain-Reichling 8620, the Italian edition of *Vitae patrum* printed at Vicenza by Hermann Liechtenstein in 1479. This edition (8620) collates by signatures as follows: (2,3)⁶, A¹⁰, B-H⁸, I-K⁶, a-i⁸, k¹⁰, a total of 166 leaves with A1 and k 10 blank. The "Tabula" is on the first six leaves; column 1, recto of k 9, has "capitulo cc. xxxvi." of the text followed by the colophon: Explicit vita fanctorum patrū. | Hermanus lichtenfsten colo- | nienfis probatiffimus librarie | artis exactor. Imprefsum Vi- | centie año dñi M.cccc.lxxix. | The so-called 8613 agrees exactly with 8620 except that the "Tabula" is bound at the end of 8613 instead of at the beginning as in 8620, and leaves k 9 and k 10 are lacking in 8613.

It is with quire "k" that we discover an obvious intention to deceive or mislead. If quire "k" originally had 10 leaves, but 9 and 10 are lacking, then the normal condition of the 8 remaining leaves would be that leaves 1 and 2 are single leaves, 3 and 8, 4 and 7, 5 and 6 would be conjugate

leaves, and the sewing would be found between leaves 5 and 6. Now let us see what has taken place in regard to our copy of the so-called 8613; first, the signature-mark "k 5" has been erased, thus eliminating the indication that quire "k" should have 10 leaves, as the printer has consistently marked the first half of the leaves of each quire with a signature-mark. Further, the leaves originally conjugate were separated and a new set-up made by joining the inner margins of leaves 1 and 8, 2 and 7, 3 and 6, 4 and 5 so that they would appear conjugate, and the sewing is between leaves 4 and 5; making the quire appear as if a genuine one of 8 leaves. But a careful examination reveals the extension at the inner margins of the leaves, and the watermarks of leaves 1 and 8 disprove their being conjugate. At the end of the last line of text on k 8 verso AMEN has been added with pen-and-ink in a fair imitation of the printed type. The AMEN follows the printed words *fECULIDE fECULI*; fifteenth-century books of a religious nature not infrequently end with a similar phrase, followed by an AMEN; and many incunabula have no colophon. As shown by a series of worm-holes the "Tabula" was at one time bound at the beginning of the volume. The book has had some cleaning; at the head of the rectos the manuscript notation of "libri" and number has consistently been deleted. The folio numbers of the text, 1-158, in a fairly late hand, still remain. A manuscript note on a front fly-leaf referring to the *Voci e maniere* of Giovanni Gherardini (1778-1861), a work published in Milan, 1838-1840, would indicate the copy was in its present condition at least by that date.

Briefly stated, here is an imperfect incunabulum that has appeared in the standard bibliographies of Hain, Copinger, and Reichling, and in the catalogs of the antiquarian book-sellers Ulrich Hoepli and Jacques Rosenthal, without being properly identified. Rosenthal on the same page of his catalog 40 fully described the two incunabula, 8613 in no. 2406, and 8620 in 2408. This is a good instance of the danger of taking previously published descriptions without making an independent investigation. But for the fortunate circumstance of a research worker at the Huntington Library specializing on the *Vitae patrum*, the copy might still be cited as 8613, instead of an imperfect copy of 8620; but now, 8613 has become a ghost.

I wish to extend my thanks to William A. Jackson of Harvard for supplying me with the description from the Hoepli catalog; and especially to Fred Rathert of the College of the City of New York who first called my attention to the similarity of 8613 and 8620, and for other assistance. Prof. Rathert is making an intensive study and comparison of the texts of the fifteenth-century editions of *Vitae patrum*.

HERMAN R. MEAD

Reviews

DOWNES, ROBERT BINGHAM. *Resources of New York City Libraries* [rule] *A Survey of Facilities for Advanced Study and Research*, By Robert Bingham Downs. Sponsored by the A. L. A. Board on Resources of American Libraries. [Rule]. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. xiii, 442 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches.

In the first paragraph of his admirable preface, Mr. Downs—at the time of writing Director of Libraries of New York University—defines and limits his field. This paragraph reads: “*The Resources of New York City Libraries* presents the results of a comprehensive survey of materials available for study and research in the five boroughs of New York City. All subjects and all types of libraries were included in the scope of the investigation.”

We learn from the introduction that “nearly 400” libraries were surveyed, and that the resources of these libraries amount to 16,500,000 volumes, but a truer picture of the library situation in New York is gained when an attempt is made to classify these libraries by size. The method used here was to count the number of times a given library appeared in the index. Only entries through page 100 were counted. Omitting The New-York Historical Society, The Pierpont Morgan Library, and The New York Society Library, since their collections are chiefly in the fields described before page 100, we find the following: The New York Public Library appears 72 times, Columbia University Libraries 45, New York University Libraries 21, and The Brooklyn Public Library 15. There may be one or two exceptions, but the rest of the libraries surveyed appear in the index five or fewer times to page 100. Thus these “400 libraries” contain special collections which are usually surpassed in extent by one or the other of the four largest libraries. In New York, then, “special collections” are described with forthright clarity by Mr. Thomas P. Fleming, when he wrote on p. 268:

Although some of the smaller libraries have what for them is a “special” collection of literature on a particular subject, these “special” collections when compared with the literature on the same subject in any one of the libraries of the New York Academy

of Medicine, King's County Medical Society, or the College of Physicians and Surgeons are so small that it seems almost unnecessary to call these "special" collections to the attention of the general public.

Mr. Fleming was writing of medical libraries, it is true, but this statement should be borne in mind when the holdings of other libraries are compared with the holdings of the four largest libraries.

The author divided the collections surveyed into sixteen subject fields, and subdivided these fields further. A word should be written here about the graceful manner in which the author describes these collections, as the reader finds himself reading on into fields in which he had not expected to be interested at the moment. Perhaps the richness of the collections has much to do with it, but in any event, these pages 1-297 will provide the librarian or the bibliophile with many hours of pleasure. The chapter on law was written by Alfred B. Lindsay and Fred B. Rothman of The Washington Square Library of New York University, and the chapter on medicine by Thomas P. Fleming — at that time librarian of the Physicians' and Surgeons' Library.

The bibliophile and the librarian will rejoice even more over the bibliography, pp. 309-403, for here are lists, bibliographies and catalogs published by the libraries surveyed. One recalls the early days of the library movement, when each library considered the publishing of its catalog one of its primary obligations. In general the bibliography is classified according to the subject classifications mentioned above.

The Directory, pp. 299-307, gives the addresses of the libraries. Here more completeness would be desirable, for some addresses given are not sufficient for postoffice purposes. The City of New York is made up of several formerly independent towns or cities and these town names are necessary if mail is not to be delayed. A paragraph at the beginning of the Directory explaining the situation would have been welcome, since there is so much confusion about the words "New York City" — an incorrect expression in the first place, and one which is sometimes used to designate the Borough of Manhattan and again is used to designate the five boroughs of the City of New York.

A few comparisons are now in order to place this book in its relation to others of a similar nature. First, because it covers nearly the same region, is the *Special Libraries Directory of Greater New York*, (1943).¹ The reviewer

¹ Special Libraries Association, New York Chapter. *Special Libraries Directory of Greater New York*, compiled by Directory Committee of the Special Libraries Association, New York Chapter. New York, Special Libraries Association, New York Chapter, 1943, ix, 93 pp. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 inches.

opened this directory to page 15, where he noted that the Princeton Club of New York has a Woodrow Wilson Collection. He then turned to the index in Downs under Wilson, Woodrow, which referred him to page 48. There he learned this Club and The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library have Wilson Collections. Then he looked again in the Special Libraries Directory index where, of course, he found The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library has a Wilson Collection. The point being that in the Downs survey whatever information there is in a given field is found in one place. The *Special Libraries Directory* has no subject index, so one cannot be certain he has located all possible sources.

The next comparison was with the resources of Philadelphia, the title used being *Philadelphia Libraries: A Survey . . .* (1942).² Supplement, pp. 12-39. Library holdings are divided into twenty-nine fields, based on the Library of Congress Classification, the material is in tabular form, and there is a one-page index. Obviously New York's resources are much more fully described.

Comparison was then made with *Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries*. VanMale, 1943.³ The title resembles Downs, in fact Downs' guide is mentioned in the Foreword, but it is soon evident that the similarity is not great. VanMale gives much attention to the library movement in this region, while Downs has nothing on this. VanMale takes one library after another, and describes the library as a whole. Another difference is that VanMale lists much material which is already in the Union List of Serials, while Downs duplicates little material found in other works. A glance at VanMale's extensive index, 53 pages, will make this clear. The greatest difference is that New York's collections are much richer and more numerous.

The fourth comparison attempted was with the author's *Resources of Southern Libraries*. 1938.⁴ In general this work is similar to VanMale. The difference between Downs on the South and on New York is that much

² The Bibliographical Planning Committee of Philadelphia. *Philadelphia Libraries: A Survey of Facilities, Needs and Opportunities. A Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York* by The Bibliographical Planning Committee of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. viii; [92]; S1-S46; 93-95 pp. 11 x 8½ inches.

³ VanMale, John. *Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries* [rule] *A Survey of Facilities for Study and Research*, by John VanMale . . . Pacific Northwest Library Association, Seattle, 1943. xv, 404 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches.

⁴ Downs, Robert Bingham, Editor. *Resources of Southern Libraries* [rule] *A Survey of Facilities for Research*, Edited by Robert B. Downs . . . [rule] Chicago, American Library Association, 1938. xii, 370 pp. 9¼ x 6¼ inches.

greater attention is paid to regional material in the Southern survey, and that here also the collections lack the richness of those in New York.

The author's purposes in writing the book are given in the introduction as:

1. To provide a basis for closer co-operation among the libraries, including divisions of collecting fields and other forms of specialization;
2. To relieve the burden on the largest libraries by spreading library use among a considerable number of institutions;
3. To assist scholars, research workers, and students to find the best material in their fields, particularly by locating and describing collections whose value is not sufficiently known.

Has he realized these purposes? He has provided a basis for closer co-operation. Not that any library will drop any special collection because of this book, but it gives a caution signal for fields in which collections should not be started. It is helpful also when a reader is already in one library, and wishes to know what other libraries in the region hold. A newcomer to New York would not know, for example, that probably the finest costume collection in this region is in the Queensborough Public Library. Downs provides a means for relieving the burden on the largest libraries, for his careful descriptions of all collections provide the reader with a safe guide to the use of smaller libraries, which often can meet the reader's needs satisfactorily. It is obvious he has met his third goal, for the student has the next-best thing to a Union Catalog of the City of New York, a project which was started and should be revived. Mr. Downs makes clear how valuable such a catalog will be.

This reviewer believes that scholars are much indebted to Mr. Downs for this careful and comprehensive work. He hopes, now that Mr. Downs is near Chicago, he will in due course provide a guide to the library resources of that city. A city where William F. Poole was active for so many years should have its libraries surveyed, and it is to be hoped Mr. Downs can be prevailed upon to make the survey.

WAYNE SHIRLEY

FERGUSON, JOHN ALEXANDER. *Bibliography of Australia* By John Alexander Ferguson . . . Volume I: 1784-1830. Sydney, London, Angus and Robertson Ltd., Sydney, London, 1941. xii pp., [1] leaf, 540 pp., [1] leaf. Plates (facsim.) 9½ x 6 inches. Edition limited to 500 copies. £3-3-0.

What Mr. Ferguson describes as the formative period of Australian history, 1784-1838, has been decided upon as the term of years to be covered in his monumental *Bibliography of Australia*. The first volume, is-

sued in 1941, covers nearly five-sixths of this era, so that the second volume should be much smaller than the first unless the average annual bulk of material issued in the years 1831-1838 is much greater than that published in 1830. There is a hint, however, that the work may be continued to cover a period subsequent to 1838.

Due to the closing of the United States, at the end of the American Revolution, as a country to which British convicts might be deported, proposals were made about 1784 for a penal settlement in New Holland; and the first four items entered in this *Bibliography* were published in that year. Because they have been satisfactorily treated in other bibliographies, Mr. Ferguson decided not to list works dealing with exploration and discovery published prior to 1784.

In his Introduction the author writes that "the present Bibliography is modelled on the lines followed in Evans's colossal *American Bibliography* and Hocken's *Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand*." As in Evans, the works of each year are entered separately, and alphabetically within the year, and there is at the end of the volume an author and subject index. But whereas Evans is limited to American imprints, a large percentage of the items listed in Mr. Ferguson's work consist of writings about Australia printed elsewhere in the world. And so, while in arrangement the compiler follows Evans, his work is in scope more nearly akin to Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*. In the Introduction are listed the places of publication of items recorded in the *Bibliography*; these comprise 23 towns in England, 4 in Scotland, 3 in Ireland, 9 in Australia, 3 elsewhere in the present British Empire, 3 in the United States, and 31 elsewhere in the world.

The number one item in the *Bibliography* is *L'Africa divisa ne' suoi Regni, e Provincie con la descrizione delle recenti scoperte all' Est*, issued in Venice in 1784, in Volume II of which pp. 203-232 deal with New South Wales. It is not until we come to entry number 245 that we find an item printed in Australia. This first Australian imprint is a small broadside issued by the Governor of New South Wales in 1796: *Instructions for the Constables of the Country Districts. The Constables of the different Districts are to secure and bring before the nearest Civil Magistrate, all idle and suspicious people, and all those who shall offer themselves to hire without being possessed of Certificates signed by the Acting Commissary*. The unique copy of this broadside, printed at the Government Press, Sydney, by George Hughes, the first Australian printer, is the property of the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

A typical entry in the *Bibliography* includes a full transcription of a

title-page or title-heading with line endings indicated, format, pagination, notes concerning illustrations and binding, and location of copies. Included in or appended to many of the entries are long notes on persons, events or literature relating to them, so that much biographical and historical information is packed into the book. The average length of the entries is such that there are a little less than three to a page.

There are recorded numerous editions by and about "that most notorious pickpocket," George Barrington; William Bligh, master of His Majesty's ship *Bounty*; the circumnavigator, Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse; and other colorful and important characters connected with the early history of Australia. There will be found much material under the subjects of convicts and transportation, legal institutions both in Britain and Australia, natural history, newspapers and periodicals, voyages, etc.

An attempt has been made to indicate completely the holdings of the Mitchell Library, Sydney (which owns the greatest collection of Australiana in the world); the National Library, Canberra; and the Dixson and Ferguson collections, Sydney. References to the holdings of other libraries have been made occasionally.

This first volume contains a satisfactory 29-page index, 32 facsimiles of title-pages, etc., of important and interesting works, and is well printed and bound. It will prove an invaluable tool in the reference libraries of the world.

GEORGE L. MCKAY

ULRICH, CAROLYN F., and KÜP, KARL. *Books and Printing, a Selected list of Periodicals, 1800-1942*. By Carolyn F. Ulrich and Karl Küp. Woodstock, Vermont, William E. Rudge, and New York, The New York Public Library, 1943. xi, [1], 244 pp. 10 x 7 1/4 inches. \$5.00.

Again The New York Public Library steps out in front of American libraries as a scholarly publisher. Two members of its staff—Miss Ulrich, Chief of the Periodicals Division, and Mr. Küp, Chief of the Prints Division—have joined their specialized knowledge to produce a long-needed work.

Over three thousand periodicals of the past century and a half, in several languages, are arranged and annotated so as to be of maximum usefulness to a wide clientele. There are three general categories, under which the periodicals are listed alphabetically, with some inevitable repetition of titles which cover several fields. *Background* includes the subheadings of pre-

printing records, palaeography, illuminating and calligraphy, and the history of printing and bookbinding. *Physical Elements* divides into types, design and layout, shop practice, illustrations and prints, processes of reproduction, paper and papermaking, ink, binding materials and practice. Less technical matters are classified under *The World of the Book*, and include author and manuscripts, publishing, advertising, book trade, bibliography, collecting, and libraries. Then follows an appendix which lists associations and societies devoted to books and printing, as well as house organs; and finally a master index of all titles cited.

The annotations are catholic, succinct, and (as far as they go) helpful. Some of them have an exuberant boyscout-like ring which might have been toned down—e.g., the *Fleurion* is described as “a periodical once consulted—never forgotten” (p. 35). I question the inclusion of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* under five different headings; as a matter of fact, it is almost exclusively a literary-historical journal, with slight emphasis on books and printing as such.

Unfamiliarity with contents is also shown in listing *Pacific Bindery Talk* under Binding and House Organs, and not under Libraries. The first two are, of course, accurate; yet until it suspended publication in 1940, upon the commencement of the *California Library Association Bulletin* (unlisted), *P. B. T.* actually chronicled more general information on the libraries of the region than it did on binding.

While the American Institute of Graphic Arts' Fifty Books of the Year competition is listed, a western counterpart sponsored by the Rounce and Coffin Club of Los Angeles is overlooked. This project, founded in 1938, included only books printed west of the Rockies, and until forced by the war to suspend activity, it issued annual bibliographical catalogues of the books selected.

Annotations for the *Library Journal* and the *Library Quarterly* do not indicate the basic difference between the two periodicals: the first is *popular*, the second *scholarly*. To list the *Annual of Bookmaking* as “1938+”, gives the impression that it has appeared regularly since that date, whereas only the one issue has been published thus far.

American Literature is listed under Bibliography, and yet the most important bibliographical feature of this quarterly—the annotated “Check-List of Articles on American Literature appearing in Current Periodicals”—is not mentioned in the annotation.

Proofreading slips cause some confusion. On page 161, under *Harvard Library Notes*, we read that “P. E. G. Quercus, gives information on au-

thors and publishers, book shops and libraries." This would seem to have strayed from under the *Saturday Review of Literature* (pp. 127, 143), where the pseudonymous Christopher Morley's successor, Bennett Cerf, is given credit in identical words for his *Trade Winds* column. A more serious error appears at the top of page 39, column 2, where a title (*Typography*) is omitted entirely, and its proper annotation retained under a French periodical, *Typologie*.

These are the only faults I have found in a work nobly conceived and brilliantly executed.

The design of the book, both attractive and legible, is in the luminous Rudge tradition.

LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL

ROBACKER, EARL F. *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. x, 217 pp. 8¾ x 5¾ inches. \$2.50.

Here at last is a comprehensive study of Pennsylvania German literature—in High German, in the dialect, and in English—from Pastorius' *Kurze Beschreibung* of 1692 to Patterson Greene's *Papa Is All*, produced by the Theatre Guild during the season of 1941-1942.

The reviewer, who is neither a Pennsylvania German nor an expert in Pennsylvania German literature, though no longer a novice in the more general field of Americana Germanica, found himself reading this book with an attentiveness that no previous book on the subject had inspired. What is more, he was prompted at a dozen points in his perusal of Mr. Robacker's book to lay it down in order to read or re-read specimens of the literature discussed, in consideration of the new light which the book shed upon them. While this procedure proved diverting as far as the writing of the review is concerned, it was, for the reviewer, a very interesting and profitable diversion, especially by way of enlarging and at some points correcting his understanding of what might be called the course of development of Pennsylvania German literature.

Aside from the discriminating care exercised in passing critical judgment, the chief virtue of the book lies in its methodology or, more precisely, in the organization of the materials into periods or phases by which the literature of the Pennsylvania Germans is classified, ordered, and shown to have a regular development or evolution, exhibiting at many points an integral relation to the main stream of American literary culture even while maintaining a distinctly regional and racial spirit.

The attempt to tell in logical sequence the "story" of Pennsylvania German literature is not new. A notable and highly successful effort, within its special field of delimitation, was made in 1915 by Professor Henry Hess Reichard in his *Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and Their Writers*, but the work took little note of the literary productions of Pennsylvania Germans either in the High German or in the English medium, and its paucity of illustrative material militated against its usefulness to the uninitiated. Heinz Kloss' 42-page treatment in 1931 of *Die pennsylvania-deutsche Literatur*, based largely on Reichard's work and designed chiefly for German consumption, sought to fit all the literary productions falling within its admittedly limited field of survey into categories of the author's own devising. Friedrich Schön's 68-page *Deutschsprachige Mundartdichtung in Amerika* (1931) adds little beyond errors to the work of Kloss and Reichard. At this stage Mr. Robacker took up the enterprise and sought to bring the literary history of the Pennsylvania Germans up to the status recently attained by the linguists who have studied the dialect, the historians of the German press, the students of Pennsylvania German folklore, and the bibliographers of German imprints that appeared in Pennsylvania or concerned Pennsylvania Germans.

Mr. Robacker divides the history of Pennsylvania German literature into five periods. The first, from 1683 to 1800, called "The Period of Greatest Religious Significance," is characterized by works in literary, or High, German, which, in the hands of religious leaders like Pastorius, Kelpius, and Beissel, is uniformly inspired by the zeal of these good "guardians of the German faiths in the New World" (p. 36).

One of the most interesting, but not altogether satisfying, sections of the book is the one in which Mr. Robacker tries to account for the discontinuance of the literary and religious tradition and the slow emergence, between 1800 and 1861 (called "The Period of Transition"), of the dialect as a vehicle for belletristic writing. What appears to demand further consideration is the question why the long years between 1750 and 1840 should have produced so few distinctively literary works in either High German or the dialect. It is hard to believe that a dialect which came into all but universal use, at least as the spoken language, among second- and third-generation Germans in Pennsylvania, should have waited until 1840 (the date generally accepted) to produce its first specimens of Pennsylvania-Dutch verses. Mr. Robacker's researches have uncovered, in the newspapers of the day, instances of verses in the dialect as early as 1829 and 1835, but these are more nearly jargon or doggerel than legitimate

dialect poems. Similarly, while there was no dearth of German newspapers in Pennsylvania Dutchland during the twenties and thirties, dialect letters and dialect columns seem, on the basis of extant files, not to have made a regular appearance before the fifties; and it seems likely that unless and until much more early reference material becomes available, we shall be unable to push back the history of literature in "Pennsylfawnisch-Deitsch" much beyond the dates indicated.

"The steadiness of purpose and resistance to change of the Pennsylvania Germans" manifest themselves markedly beginning about 1860, and we are treated to the unusual spectacle during the period from the Civil War to the end of the century (called by Mr. Robacker "The Language Conscious Period") of a racial minority in the throes of amalgamation, "recording an existence many of them already believed past, in a language which was likewise losing ground year by year" (p. 72). Earlier associations which the language seems to have had with the ludicrous, the bizarre, and the vulgar gave way, during this period, before the theory and practice of men like Harbaugh until the dialect was esteemed ideally suited for the presentation "in simplicity, dignity, and loveliness" of all the phases of life from the cradle to the grave and beyond (see the preface to Harbaugh's *Harfe*). The volume and quality of dialect verse were multiplied manifold; feuilletonistic literature, notably the dialect newspaper letter or "column," became a regular feature in many periodicals; the short story in dialect began to appear; and Ezra Grumbine produced the first known play in the dialect, *Die Insurance Business*. This upsurge of literary activity, motivated largely by a nostalgic feeling for the good old things that were passing away and a form of literary antiquarianism, was a movement within Pennsylvania Germanland; but outsiders, too, began to take note in forms ranging from Leland's Hans Breitmann ballads (not, however, to be confused with the "Pennsylfawnisch-Deitsch" dialect) and Whittier's treatment of Pastorius in *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim* to Phebe Earle Gibbons' early literary exploitation of the Pennsylvania Germans in fiction; while important dialect writers like Henry Lee Fisher, Lee L. Grumbine, Matthias Sheeleigh, Thomas J. B. Rhoads, and Ezra Grumbine made contributions to the English literature of the period.

One characteristic of Pennsylvania German literature of this and later periods is that, despite its narrowly regional and distinctly nostalgic motivation, it maintained a strictly American character and never exhibited anything like the love of *Vaterland* that was common among the intellectuals of the *Dreissiger* and *Achtundvierziger* in other sections of the country. Indica-

tions of the close relation between Pennsylvania dialect writers and the main stream of American literature as exemplified by the major American writers of the same era are such productions as E. H. Rauch's dramatic "transliteration" of *Rip Van Winkle*, Charles Calvin Ziegler's *N' Schnecke-haus* inspired by Holmes' *Chambered Nautilus*, Charles C. More's Evangeline-like *Kutztown Mael*, J. Baer Stoudt's rendition of Longfellow's *Rainy Day*, and Michael A. Gruber's *Die Letscht Maud Muller*.

The exploitation in literature of the Pennsylvania Germans, initiated as early as 1869 by Mrs. Gibbons, was seized upon by a group of writers who found in the Pennsylvania Dutch a source of interest, curiosity, and amusement that could be turned to profitable account. It engendered a local-color movement which chiefly characterizes the Pennsylvania German literature of the first three decades of the twentieth century, although, of course, dialect poetry, the newspaper dialect letter, and other older forms continued with only slight abatement. One of the most popular of the local-color writers was Mrs. Helen R. Martin, whose *Tillie: a Mennonite Maid* (1904) met with instantaneous success and set the pattern for a score of her novels and many more of her short stories. While Mrs. Martin's stories were never popular among the Pennsylvania Germans, who considered her representations disparaging and libellous, four of her novels were adapted to the cinema, others were dramatized on Broadway, and *Tillie* went through twenty editions, the last in 1938. More to the taste of the people about whom she wrote was the prose fiction of Elsie Singmaster (Mrs. Elsie S. Lewars), who was even more prolific than Mrs. Martin and equally successful. John Luther Long, Nelson Lloyd, Katherine Riegel Loose, J. N. Rhoads, Katherine Evans Blake, Fred Lewis Pattee, Reginald Wright Kauffmann, Anna Balmer Myers, Charles C. More, and others fed the taste for local-color fiction. Aside from the popular exploitation of the lingual, social, and other peculiarities of the Pennsylvania Germans at the hands of the local colorists, a miscellaneous lot of writings appeared that were based largely on the historical and scholarly investigations which began to accumulate during the early years of the present century. One of the earlier and more notable of these is Ulysses S. Koons' *Brother Jabez, a Tale of the Kloster* (1904), based on Julius F. Sachse's *German Sectarians in Pennsylvania* (1895).

The latter tendency was accelerated in the latest period, which Mr. Robacker calls "The Folk-Conscious Period." A notable example is Clarence F. Iobst's play *Salz*, which is based on Charles C. More's story *Der Hexedokter* and Edwin M. Fogel's two-volume work on *Beliefs and Supersti-*

tions of the Pennsylvania Germans. Thus belletrists and scholars reinforced each the work of the other; and especially after such agencies as the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society and the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation lent weight and support to the enterprise, and university studies of dialect writers, linguistic researches, and columns like 'S Pennsylvawisch-Deutsch Eck made available new materials, Pennsylvania Germanland became the happy hunting ground of not merely the collectors of antiques and the literary antiquarians but of the literary analyst and critic, the psychologist, the sociologist, and the historian. The fact that the two latest books on the literary culture of the Pennsylvania Germans have been published by American university presses is significant as indicating that the subject is no longer one of merely local concern. Indeed, Mr. Robacker finds the current literature of the Pennsylvania Germans to be "but one phase of an extensive and growing folk-movement which sprang up after the First World War, and which is of interest far beyond the borders of the Dutch Country" (p. 167).

The most distinctive art form to come into its own in recent years is the dialect play, typified by such productions as Iobst's *En Quart Millich un En Halb Beint Raahm* (1928), Elmer Greensfelder's *Broomsticks, Amen!* (1934), and Patterson Greene's *Papa Is All* (1941). The popularity of the dialect play, with its essentially visual and auditory rather than literary appeal, is explained by Mr. Robacker as "the single medium best suited to a people whose knowledge of the written form of the dialect is less than ever before" (p. 168). Despite all this activity and interest on the part of both insiders and outsiders, there appears the odd paradox of a people's allowing their dialect to fall steadily into greater disuse while students and writers outside their racial group find the subject increasingly absorbing as a field for scholarly and literary exploitation—in a manner that does not always meet with the wholehearted approval of the Pennsylvania Germans themselves. In consideration of these and similar circumstances it is heartening to find at last a book dealing with the Pennsylvania Germans that is not constantly apologizing for their shortcomings, scolding others who point them out, or calling the world to witness the fact that the Pennsylvania Germans and their cultural contributions have never been properly appreciated by American historians. Such charges, in the face of the 7,858 items in Emil Meynen's *Bibliography of German Settlements in Colonial North America, Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and Their Descendants 1683-1933* (1937) grow wearisome. Mr. Robacker observes simply that while the Pennsylvania Germans encountered many serious obstacles and set-

backs in developing their literary culture, they achieved a degree of activity and success unmatched by any other cultural and racial minority in the United States. He concludes pointedly, "Let the Pennsylvania Germans look to their heritage!" (p. 169).

In short, Mr. Robacker makes the note- and praise-worthy attempt to place the Pennsylvania Germans and their cultural achievements where they belong—squarely within the larger, enveloping American tradition, in and through which Pennsylvania German literary history has its only past or future significance.

HENRY A. POCHMANN

GOHDES, CLARENCE. *American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England*.

By Clarence Gohdes. [Device]. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. [xii], 191 pp. 8¾ x 5½ inches. \$2.50.

"The present volume is the first ever written with the purpose of proving the wide interest in American literature displayed by the English people." Thus begins the preface to Professor Gohdes' scholarly monograph. After a brief introduction in which he sketches the complex attitude of the British people toward America in the nineteenth century, he develops his subject in five mutually related essays, each fully documented: *The Book-trade*, *The Periodicals*, *Humor*, *Longfellow*, *Of Critics and Influence*.

Literary historians too often forget that without a sound bibliographical foundation their studies can have little permanence or finality. Professor Gohdes has luckily escaped this fallacy. His research has been built, with commendable thoroughness, around the bibliographical essentials of his subject. Literature, he realizes, is not a thing produced *in vacuo*; to have literature there must be a publisher. And it is this realization that has led him to devote his first chapter to a painstaking analysis of the Anglo-American booktrade. The absence of international copyright throughout much of the nineteenth century was mainly responsible for the wide dissemination of American literature in England. Until 1891, when the International Copyright Act was passed, the looseness and variable interpretation of the British copyright laws made the piracy of American works an amazingly profitable business. Innumerable series of cheap American books were constantly for sale at the railway stations and news-stands. The popularity thus afforded writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Susan Warner must have made many an English authoress whose books were protected by British copyright sick with envy. George Routledge, by the middle of the century, had become "the chief purveyor of American books to English

readers;" and his "Cheap Series," offered "at from one shilling to two and six per volume," included books by Irving, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Melville. Of course, it was not impossible for an American to arrange with an English publisher to bring out his works in more respectable format. Murray, for example, paid Irving in 1824 fifteen hundred guineas for the rights to *Tales of a Traveller*; and years later Sampson Low brought out their "Copyright Editions of American Authors," which consisted of twenty volumes by such writers as Louisa Alcott, Charles D. Warner, and Oliver W. Holmes. Residence of the author abroad at the time of the publication of his book usually gave him the right to British copyright; and many American writers took advantage of this law. But it was hard to beat the pirates; Professor Gohdes asserts that "legitimate" publications rarely achieved a sale which compared favorably with that of the cheap series."

The following chapters of the book reveal clearly the relation of special aspects of American literature to publishing conditions in England. It is surprising to note how large a number of selections from American authors appeared in English periodicals. Of course, most of this material was simply lifted from transatlantic sources. A few special periodicals, such as the *American Miscellany*, subsisted, during the brief period of their existence, entirely on American tales, essays, and poems. Then, too, an occasional American author before the Civil War, and increasing numbers thereafter, became regular contributors to British magazines. In dealing with American humor in England, Professor Gohdes shows the wide-spread interest in a single literary type. Several of the early humorous characters, such as Sam Slick, Davy Crockett, and Jack Downing, found their way, through cheap editions, into many a British home. Later on, Lowell, Artemus Ward, C. G. Leland, and Mark Twain attracted large English audiences, and innumerable editions of their works, largely unauthorized, became available to the public. Two English publishers, John Camden Hotten¹ and Nicholas Trübner, who were especially active in bringing out humorous works by Americans, indulged in keen rivalry in their efforts to issue the best editions of Lowell and Leland. Indeed, the persistent popularity of the American humorists in England was due both to the sudden emergence of so many good humorous writers here, and to the countless cheap editions of their works for sale everywhere in the British Isles. Bibliog-

¹ In spite of the reputation of Hotten for pirating the works of American authors, he at least once declared himself openly in favor of international copyright. See J. C. Hotten, *Literary Copyright* (London, 1871), a book not mentioned, I believe, by Professor Gohdes.

rappers will find in this chapter much precise information regarding English editions of the American humorists.

The chapter devoted to Longfellow is a successful attempt to narrow the subject of the monograph to a single author. To derive the full significance from this section, one must approach it with two other bibliographical studies by Professor Gohdes clearly in mind: *A Check-List of Volumes by Longfellow Published in the British Isles During the Nineteenth Century*² and *Longfellow and His Authorized British Publishers*.³ Professor William Charvat⁴ has demonstrated a business sagacity on the part of Longfellow in dealing with his American publishers scarcely dreamed of by the average literary historian. Naturally, Longfellow's attempt to control his literary market in England was far less successful. In 1835, with characteristic self-confidence, he asked William Tegg, the London publisher, to give him at least one hundred pounds for the rights to *Outre-Mer*. Tegg's reply was brief: "Why in three weeks I can get it for nothing." It is true that, as time went on, large numbers of unauthorized editions of Longfellow's books appeared everywhere. Yet, after he had become famous, several of the more prominent publishers vied with one another for the rights to his works. The financial rewards of his negotiations with these publishers were, on the whole, large, although, according to Professor Gohdes, "all of them appear to have cheated him." But popularity, whether it came through authorized or unauthorized channels, was always dear to Longfellow's heart. Writing in 1876 to a friend abroad, he commented on the twenty-two publishers he had had in England and Scotland, and he quickly added that "only four of them ever took the slightest notice of my existence." Yet in all this there was balm: "It gives you thousands of readers instead of hundreds." If Longfellow has been called the "household poet," the designation is not without significance in suggesting the importance he attached to the reactions of the middle-class reader to his poetry. From the start, these reactions formed a valued part of his experience. In 1839 he gave the manuscript of *Footsteps of Angels* to Professor Felton, who read it to his wife. She cried "like a child," reported Felton; and Longfellow confided to his journal, "I want no more favorable criticism than this."⁵ A year later, after composing

² *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XVII, 46, 67-69, 93-96 (September, 1940-August, 1941).

³ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LV, 1165-1179 (December, 1940).

⁴ *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVIII, 9-21 (First Quarter, 1944).

⁵ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), I, 317.

The Wreck of the Hesperus, he wrote to G. W. Greene that "the *national ballad* is a virgin soil here in New England; and there are great materials. Besides, I have a great notion of working upon the *people's* feelings."⁶ As the years went on, there is no reason to believe that this desire was essentially altered; only to his already large American audience he had now added an even greater company of British friends. For his volume *The Seaside and The Fireside*, which was published in 1850, and of which several editions appeared in England the same year, he wrote in verse a "Dedication," in which he was not unmindful of his many friends in foreign lands. Professor Gohdes devotes much space to the enormous popularity of Longfellow, "who impressed duchesses and mechanics alike." Opinions expressed both by the leading literary magazines and by British men of letters have been fully analyzed. Naturally, there was some detracting — perhaps more than one would at first suppose. Yet the burden of this vast body of critical comment bears testimony to the great esteem in which the poet was held. The erection in 1884 of a bust to the poet in Westminster Abbey consummated a growing popularity which, in a period of over forty years, had suffered virtually no abatement.

As a pioneer work, Professor Gohdes' book leaves much ground either totally unexplored, or at best sketchily mapped out. Many readers may regret that the last chapter touches so lightly the influence of American writing on British thought—an influence which one suspects may be worthy a more detailed examination than here accorded it. The author himself speaks of the need of "a special study of the very important role played by the American reprint in supplying literature for the English masses." And one gathers that the social and economic impact of American literature on the English middle class was far greater than the average critic is prone to realize. But if the book leaves many significant questions unanswered, it nevertheless fills, and fills well, an important gap in our bibliographical and literary knowledge of Anglo-American relationships.

NELSON F. ADKINS

PHILADELPHIA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CENTER AND UNION LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Documentation on a Regional Basis; Symposium on Post-War Activities*. Philadelphia, 1944. ix, 47 pp. 11 x 8½ inches.

To the flood of literature on post-war planning is now added this symposium on regional documentation, sponsored by the Philadelphia Biblio-

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 342-343.

graphical Center and Union Library Catalogue. Unlike the visionary, unrealistic, heads-in-the-clouds nature of much such literature, however, there is presented here a sound and practical, though ambitious program looking toward maximum development of the Philadelphia area's bibliographical resources. Contributors include not only leaders long active in Philadelphia's bibliographical pioneering, but several outside specialists—Jesse H. Shera, LeRoy C. Merritt, and John VanMale—who bring valuable objective viewpoints to bear on the situation.

As a foundation for the symposium, Mr. Shera considers from a regional angle the general problem of documentation centers. Using a broad definition of documentation to comprise "not only library and archival collections, but museums, and the activities of publishers, printers, and authors," he points out that a serious technical lag exists in making materials known and available. One possible solution to the problem, it is suggested, is the regional documentation center, particularly if the center expands its services to embrace such activities as performance of basic research, compilation of specialized bibliographies, and preparation of extensive abstracts, digests and translations—all of course to be in the hands of a highly trained staff. Mr. Shera recognizes further the cardinal importance of specialization among agencies participating in a documentation center, because of the impossibility of achieving completeness or universality in any single institution. Unquestionably the goal of unlimited collections could not be reached in the past and may be impracticable in the future; however, Fremont Rider's provocative recent book, *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library*, in which the potentialities of microprint are demonstrated, may call for further consideration of the question.

Five papers deal specifically with various aspects of the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue. LeRoy Merritt proposes augmenting the Union Catalogue by taking in Delaware, New Jersey, and the remainder of Pennsylvania. His grounds for this proposition are the Philadelphia Catalogue's leadership in its field, its progressive outlook, and its already wide influence and service. In view of the proximity of these states to the great national Union Catalog in the Library of Congress, it might be questioned whether Washington would not be a more logical center. If, however, the data are to be used to further a broad program of regional library cooperation, rather than for mere location purposes, there is ample justification for inclusion in the Philadelphia center. It is estimated that nearly one million additional new titles could be obtained by covering all libraries in the region, substantially raising also the

total of approximately five and one-half million volumes now recorded in the Philadelphia Catalogue.

Another proposal for expansion of the Union Catalogue is made by Mrs. R. W. Linderoth, who reminds us of the mass of uncatalogued materials in virtually every research library. To make these arrears available and to give a complete picture of the region's facilities, she recommends a centralized cooperative cataloging project, utilizing microphotographic processes to record quickly and in inexpensive form large quantities of unlisted books, ephemeral pamphlets, etc. Another contributor, Arthur B. Berthold, names three essential elements for improving the bibliographical quality of the Union Catalogue: the card files, the staff, and the Catalogue's reference facilities. He then proceeds to offer a series of concrete suggestions for the strengthening of each element, emphasizing the desirability of acquiring comprehensive bibliographies and published library catalogs. A similar plea is made by John VanMale, who advocates the building up of an extensive bibliography of bibliographies and other reference works to be found in Philadelphia libraries. Another interesting suggestion for amplifying the usefulness of the Union Catalogue is offered by Marion Burton, who would have on file in the Center indexes listing specialists and fields of specialization, translators, booksellers (particularly importers and dealers in foreign countries), private collectors and collections, latest developments in library equipment and technique, and information previously supplied by the Bibliographical Center in response to inquiries.

The second portion of the symposium pertains to more general projects. W. B. McDaniel presents a detailed plan for providing Philadelphia libraries with a reasonably complete coverage of basic research materials, starting with a thorough study of existing weaknesses, cooperative action to fill lacunae, and avoiding duplicate purchases of expensive titles. Joint efforts in technical fields are proposed by B. R. Johnstone, who discusses the possibility of a community laminating laboratory for repairing and preserving manuscripts, newspapers, and similar materials; and John J. Heilemann, who points out the advantages of coordinating microphotographic laboratories. Two important documentary activities recently originating in Philadelphia are outlined by persons closely associated with them: Eva V. Armstrong deals with the American Chemical Society bibliography of the history of chemistry in America, now in preparation; and A. E. Zucker and Felix Reichmann discuss plans for developing a reference library and fostering research on various aspects of German Americans. Also of general interest is Rudolf Hirsch's consideration of the need for a program of in-

struction in documentation for advanced college and university students.

Since many of the activities and projects proposed in the symposium are dependent upon adequate space, Charles W. David concludes the series by describing plans for a new library building at the University of Pennsylvania, large enough to house the bibliographical center and to serve as a focal point for its expanding interests.

Altogether the symposium is one of unusual significance, blazing a number of important new bibliographical trails for the years immediately ahead.

ROBERT B. DOWNS

[COWDREY, (Miss) BARTLETT, compiler.] National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826-1860. New York, Printed for The New York Historical Society, 1943. Volume I, A-L, xv, 300 pp., Volume II [3 p. l.] 365 pp. 9½ x 6 inches. (Collections of The New York Historical Society for the Year[s] 1941 and 1942: Volumes LXXIV, LXXV, The John Watts DePeyster Publication Fund Series.)

One afternoon at Oak Knoll, Daylesford, Pennsylvania, the late A. Edward Newton remarked: "Sir, I think there are two kinds of books: books written creatively and books written recreatively." The two volumes here considered, compiled by Bartlett Cowdrey, former registrar of the Brooklyn Museum, constitute a labor of recreation; of recreating the records of The National Academy of Design from its foundation down through what might well be called its Early American years. It is a work within the pattern set by D. McNeely Stauffer for the Grolier Club in his monumental *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel*; a labor of love in which infinite patience and pains, coupled no doubt with the burning of much midnight oil, hand to the student, curator and collector an easily opened door to knowledge.

Miss Cowdrey dishes up her facts without a sprig of trimming. She neither rhapsodizes nor soliloquizes upon the artists she lists and their works which she tabulates. Yet there is the record: the name of every artist who exhibited at the National Academy between the years 1826 and 1860, and the list of his works, all dated and made ever so easy to find. The compiler hasn't written a book but has created one from the now rare catalogs of this great American art institution. The result is emphatically not a "reading" book but a working book. Beginning with the entry of Andreas Achenbach of Dusseldorf who exhibited two pictures in 1847 and one in 1851, and ending with the entry for one K. Zoll, address unknown, who

exhibited one picture in 1855, these volumes compress between the two obvious "furriners" the exhibition records of many artists whose names are now hallowed in the American scene. Agate, Ames, Audubon, Badger, Bartlett, Bennet, Bingham, Bierstadt, Birch, Cummings, Dunlap, Inman, Innes, Peale, Pine and scores of other great and near great artists are there, with the titles of the pictures they were proud enough to exhibit.

Especially valuable is the alphabetical arrangement of artists' names, the listing of picture titles with date of exhibit, the data on owners and on pictures for sale by the artists, and the record of those exhibitors who, too shy to divulge their names, exhibited anonymously. The index, as an index should be but so often isn't, is a joy to any research-minded person. Had the compiler rested content with the index, adding only the year of exhibition, she would have conferred a boon upon the art-interested people of America. But no, she went the whole way and the last long mile in order that a book might be published which none will read but which untold thousands will use as a research and informative tool for untold years to come.

The two volumes here considered constitute the 74th and 75th in the John Watts DePeyster Publication Fund Series and have been designated by The New York Historical Society as their collections for 1941 and 1942. A special separate edition of 300 copies, over and above the number printed for use of The New York Historical Society, seems less than ample to supply what could be the national library demand for this work, not to mention the number of private collectors and students who will have an ever growing use for it.

CARL W. DREPPERD